JOHN PAUL JONES

BY

CHARLES WALTER BROWN



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Roy. Cunningham

JOHN PAUL JONES



Putnam

John Paul Jones

Of Naval Fame

A Character of the Revolution

By Charles Walter Brown, A.M.

Author of "Nathan Hale," "Paul Revere," "Ethan Allen," "Count Pulaski," "La Fayette," Etc., Etc.

"The Flag and I are twins. Born the same hour we cannot be parted in life or death. So long as we can float we shall float together."—PAUL JONES.

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TO MY FATHER

ISAAC HINTON BROWN

(1842-1889)

WHO

DURING THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF AS AN OFFICER

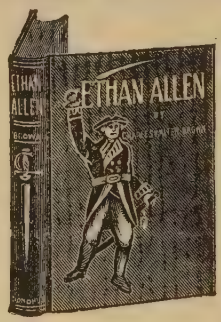
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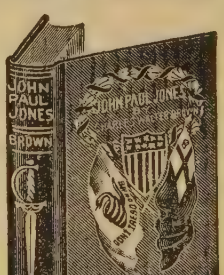
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Insulted freedom bled; I felt her cause,
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws
From principle, and not from vain applause.
I've done my best; self-interest far apart,
And self-reproach a stranger to my heart.
My zeal still prompt, ambition to pursue
The foe, ye fair! of liberty and you;
Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,
A generous people's love not meanly sought;
To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,
Shall be my earliest and latest duty.

—John Paul Jones.

INTRODUCTION.

American history gleams with the brilliant achievements of her adopted sons. No historian ever wearies in telling of the glorious deeds and self-sacrifices of La Fayette, De Kalb, Pulaski, Kosciuszko, De Grasse, Rochambeau, Steuben, St. Clair and D'Estaing, whose deeds of heroism, great privations and unceasing devotion to the cause of liberty will never be forgotten by their countrymen on this side of the Atlantic.

Of all the revolutionary patriots, however, who crossed the ocean to offer their fortunes, and their lives if necessary, that the spirit of freedom might not perish from the face of the earth, there is no name deserving of higher veneration than that of John Paul Jones, and while his name and office is familiar to millions of the youth of our land, yet it is a lamentable fact that many of them know scarcely anything of the early history, the trials and disappointments he experienced in the organization of the American Navy, or the last years of the life of this remarkable man.

Republics are not ungrateful, nor has the United States been unmindful of the valiant services of her alien sons. In America, we do not manifest our appreciation of gallantry by some gaudy decoration at the hands of our citizen ruler. We have no euphonious titles to confer and no flaring baubles with which to decorate our patriots. "I prefer a solid to a shining

reputation, a useful to a splendid command," was the only favor the Congress could bestow on Captain Jones; but even though the latter was denied him, his reward has been ample,—magnanimous as were his services.

The everlasting gratitude of admiring millions of American freemen should be, and is, a sufficient recognition even for the greatest sacrifice. Nathan Hale regretted that he had but one life to give to his country, and he gave even that without hope or expectation of reward, or that his name would live in the hearts of his compatriots even until the close of the struggle that meant liberty or greater enslavement to those who survived.

So it was with Paul Jones; this same feeling manifested itself in his every thought, word and action. It was his constant desire "to go in harm's way," and the heart burnings of this brave man can readily be imagined when we read in subsequent chapters of the trials and disappointments he endured until the end of the war, when his services were no longer required and he returned over the seas to fight oppression under other flags than ours.

Though dissensions arose continually and caused him much apprehension as to the appreciation in which his services were held, yet he had the fortitude and great good sense to submit to the commands of his superiors and ask the Congress to sit in judgment concerning his conduct, while never for a moment permitting the service or the cause for which he was fighting to suffer by any word or act or neglect of his. Even if Captain Jones had not been the leading spirit in the

formation of our navy—even if he had not worked miracles in naval warfare, the Congress was not jealous of his successes, but rather proud of his achievements, and showed its appreciation by never restricting his operations, nor criticising his plans, either before or after an engagement. Congress realized that if ever the yoke of British tyranny was to be thrown off and the Colonies let loose from the fetters that bound them to the despotism of George the Third, that time had come, and neither Washington, nor the Marine Committee, nor the Congress would permit petty jealousies to affect the greatest good possible in the navy or in the army of the Republic.

Captain Jones' active participation in the revolt of the American Colonies, when even the slightest manifestation of sympathy was appreciated by Washington and the Congress, justifies the many memorials that have appeared, and though the story of his adventures has many times been told, each attempt only adds renewed interest and brings to light new facts in the life of this romantic character in his unselfish devotion to the "cause of freedom and the rights of man."

The purpose of this book is to deal largely with the incidents in the life of Paul Jones so far as they have helped to make the naval history of our country and to show how intimately associated is his name with that which we prize above all else in this world—Liberty; yet it would be hard to tell the story of this courageous man if no mention were made of his adventures under other flags than ours and in other parts of the world. It is therefore essential to the completion of this narra-

tive that brief mention be made of his whole naval career, whether under the banner of America, France or Russia, and though his life after his entrance into the Russian navy loses its direct importance to us, the well-wishes of four million grateful freemen followed him across the ocean to his native shores and bid him God-speed in his assault on tyranny wherever found.

JOHN PAUL JONES OF NAVAL FAME

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF JOHN PAUL.

Arbigland was the name of a large private estate bordering on the shores of the Solway in the South of Scotland. Its owner, Mr. John Craik, member of Parliament from Galloway, was of noble ancestry, being a lineal descendant of the Earl of Argyll, and from whom he had inherited much of his vast landed possessions. A great number of tenants were required to care for so many thousands of cultivated acres, yet in all this vast domain, where the controlling power was centered in one man whose authority was absolute, there was no murmuring, no complaining among the tenantry. They were universally happy, prosperous and contented.

We do not wonder, then, that when John Paul, of Leith, but formerly of Fifeshire, went very early in life to be bound a gardener's apprentice to Mr. Craik, that he rejoiced at his good fortune in finding so kind and generous a master, for at that time an apprenticeship more often meant a period of servitude, with the infliction of inexpressible cruelties for the slightest disobedience. At Arbigland there were no cruel overseers; every infraction of established rules came before Mr. Craik, who disposed of each case in a manner befitting

the offense—the severest punishment being dismissal from his service.

The occupation of a gardener on a large estate was similar to that of an overseer or landscape artist of to-day, and it should be understood that such a position is given only to one who is especially adapted for the work, and who in all cases must be an intelligent man, better educated than the common operative mechanic in ordinary handicraft. Such a man must have been John Paul, for after his term of apprenticeship had expired his master "set aside a portion of the estate as a permanent home for his faithful servant and his immediate family after his death," which occurred about the year 1763.

The Craik Mansion of Arbigland stands about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and a little farther west on the same gently sloping promontory still stands the self-same cottage in which young Paul was born. The present condition of the house is little changed from what it was three-quarters of a century ago, when an account of the surroundings, from which the following is an extract, appeared in the *Dumfries' Courier* of July 30, 1834. Lieutenant A. B. Pinkham, of the American Navy, had just donated from his own purse a princely sum for the purchase and maintenance of the cottage, and had erected a small monument "to the memory of Paul Jones as a slight token of esteem in which his name is held by his American benefactors:

"The site of the cottage is a glade in a thriving wood, on the shores of the Solway, with a green in front, fancifully railed in, and tastefully ornamented with ever-

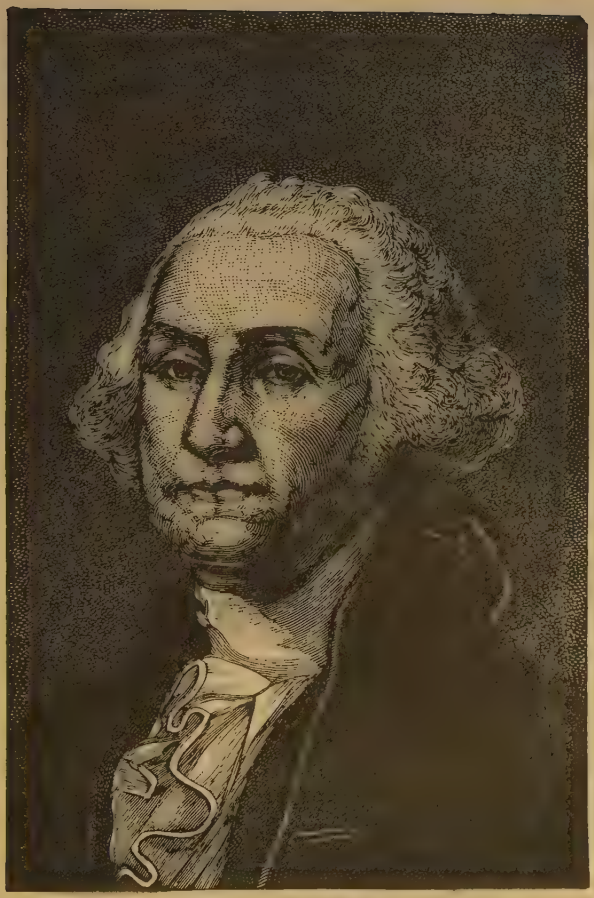
green flowers and flowering shrubs. Inside and out, it is a trim cottage and may vie with similar buildings in England, and, as the walls are whitened annually with the finest lime, it is become a sort of landmark to nearly every sail that enters the Solway. The widow of a fisherman, who died under highly distressing circumstances, and who owed much to the humanity of Mr. Craik, tenants it rent free, and will probably close her eyes under its honored roof, and as this fact is generally known, almost every tar, in passing the spot, doffs his bonnet in token of gratitude, and says 'God bless the kind Lieutenant Pinkham.' "

The work of constructing reservoirs, fountains, building lakes, laying out the drives, gardens, walks, lawns, flower-beds, and the planting of trees, that to this day embellish the grand old estate, was entrusted to the care of John Paul, and after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, it is said that there is no park in all Scotland that shows the skill of a landscape gardener more than that of Arbigland of Kirkcudbright (Kirkoo-bre). The natural beauty of the estate was greatly enhanced by the dark mountain ranges stretching away toward the north, and, as if in contrast to the sombre mountain colors, the bright blue waters of Solway Frith and the green fields of Cumberland in the North of England, lent gladness to the scenes in the south, while in the remote distance, marking the eastern end of the estuary, rise the majestic summits of Helvellyn, Skiddow and the Saddleback in the hills of Cheviot. The towering granite shaft of Crippel still stands, like a lone sentinel on the north shore, and away in the east,

beyond the shining Frith the waters of the Esk freshen those of the Solway. The wide sweeping lawns and avenues of poplar, elm, maple and birch that overshadow the walks and drives that led down to the sea at the foot of the lawn, were the pride and constant care of the overseer—John Paul.

Shortly after entering the employ of Mr. Craik, Paul married Jean Macduff, the daughter of a poor but industrious farmer in the neighboring parish of New Abbey. The Macduffs were a respectable rural clan, and some of them had been small landed proprietors in the parish of Kirkbean for many generations. Of this marriage seven children came to bless the union. The first born was William Paul, who came to America early in life, and finally settled near Fredericksburg, Virginia, close by the Rappahannock, where he died about the year 1773, leaving a small estate, but no family to inherit the fruits of his labors. The next three were girls—Elizabeth, Janet and Mary Ann, while two others, one boy and a girl, died in infancy. Elizabeth never married; Janet married Mr. Taylor, a watchmaker in Dumfries, and Mary Ann was twice married, first to a Mr. Young and after his death to a Mr. Loudon.

On the 6th of July, 1747, another son was born to John and Jean Paul, and they named him after his father—John Paul. His youth was passed very much after the way of other boys who are fortunate in being born in the country. When old enough he attended the parish school at Kirkbean, spending much of his time scaling the cliffs and rocky promontories along his native coasts—watching the ships and fishing smacks



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

going to and fro on the broad expanse of sea, or talking with the mariners and seafaring men who frequented all parts of the globe.

Though there were no large seaports on the shores of Solway Frith, yet vessels ascended the river Nith to Dumfries, and considerable coast trade was carried on along the Irish Sea. Trade was quite brisk between Kirkbean and Liverpool and the fishing smacks dotted the horizon in all directions. When the tides came in, or the storm tossed waters laved the rock-bound shores of Galloway and overflowed the meadows that border the seas in Cumberland, large ships came to anchor in the land-locked harbor below Arbigland.

In the days of the highland clans when the whole of Scotland was divided into almost numberless tribes, Kirkcudbright was known as Galloway and for an hundred miles this picturesque bit of land bounded Solway Frith on the north. This deep inlet from the Irish Sea, separating England from Scotland, was no barrier to the brave mariners who made their homes along its hospitable shores. Returning from a year's voyage to distant parts of the world, how pleasant must have seemed to them the green meadows in Britain, the hills of Cheviot, or the northern mountains that sheltered Bruce and Wallace, giving us Ben Lomond with its wealth of song and poetry?

Though Scotland lost its independence forty years before, it was only the year preceding the birth of the younger Paul that the last independent office, the Scottish Secretary of State at London, was abolished. We do not wonder then that the birth of Paul Jones, or

John Paul, as we yet know him—associated so closely with the loss of Scottish independence—left its impress upon his youthful mind and caused him some years after he had taken up his residence in Virginia to write to his friend Baron Vander Capellan at Amsterdam:

"I was born in Britain, but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honor to hoist, with my own hands, the flag of freedom the first time it was displayed on the Delaware, and I have attended it with veneration ever since on the ocean."

The education which young Paul received at the parish school of Kirkbean, must have terminated after he went to sea. His subsequent acquirements—and they were considerable—were the fruits of private study and of such casual opportunities as in boyhood he had the forethought to improve as often as his ship arrived in port.

Among the numerous unfounded slanders and rumors of which this brave and often misrepresented man has been the subject, is the assertion that he ran off to sea against the will of his parents. Even this transgression, however, might have been atoned by his after life; but there was no foundation for such belief. His in-

clination for the bold and hardy mode of life which he adopted, appears, as it often does in boyhood, to have been a strong passion, fostered by his childish pastimes, and encouraged by much that he saw and heard in his daily intercourse with ships and seamen along the shores of the Solway.

It is also observed that his regard for America, and his willingness "to descend with fire and sword," in her cause, upon the shores of his native land, which were thought unnatural, may have had their origin in the conversations he had with the mariners from the discontented colonies in America.

In after times, when the name of Paul Jones became the subject of historical interest, an effort was made to assign to him what was thought a nobler origin, as the natural son of the Earl of Selkirk, or of Mr. Craik. As if the brand of illegitimacy, and the stigma on a mother's fame, would be more than compensated by an association with noble names, or a sinister descent from a Scottish earl or from a "bonnet laird" best known to fame by the fact of our hero being the son of his gardener, would be a more fitting introduction to a career of glory than birth in honorable wedlock, of humble but honest parents. These calumnies, though intended for commendations, were falsified by the unsullied character of the wife of John Paul, and by the happiness of their union.

These weak inventions have long since been exploded, though preserved in the pages of fanciful novelists and scattering accounts in the remote parts of England. In answer to an inquiry of Baron Vander Capellan in

1779, Jones says with respect to his parentage: "I never had any obligation to Lord Selkirk, except for his good opinion, nor does he know me or mine, except by character." This is further verified by the correspondence which we shall have occasion to introduce as our narrative proceeds.

Thus, early in life, before most boys have laid aside their childish toys, or given one thought to the stern realities of life, we find young Paul already engaged in laying the foundation for his life's work. His knowledge of geography, of the customs and the habits of the people who inhabited all parts of the earth's surface, were as well understood by him at the age of ten years as was expected of one twice his age. He lost no opportunity of acquiring information pertaining to America and its people, not merely because his brother William had made his home here, but because he had early formed a hatred for England on account of her treatment of his ancestors, who, like the Americans, had long contended for their independence. He resolved to cross the ocean, and when old enough he would return to England in a great ship and destroy her commerce, lay ransom to her coast cities, burn the shipping in her harbors, and in a hundred ways spread alarm and disaster and ruin everywhere throughout Britain. Such were the dreams, the ambitions, the hopes of this young Scotchman, and with what determination did he adhere to his youthful resolve we shall see in subsequent chapters.

Thus the scenes and incidents that so early engaged his attentions, which we can well imagine took possession of his entire being, displeased his parents very

much, for their judgment and ambitions were to have their youngest son remain at home and follow the profession of a tradesman or artisan, instead of going off to the colonies—India, America, Australia—as was the custom with young men in those days. His associations and frequent visits to the village harbor only intensified his longings for the sea. He had fully determined upon the course he would pursue; he chose the following of the sea at first, he said, for adventure and profit, but afterward as a profession and a home which only the freedom of the sea, he thought, could afford him.

In the traditions of his family, young Paul is described as launching, while a mere child, his mimic ship; hoisting his flag and issuing his mandates to his imaginary crew with all the firmness and dignity of one born to lead and command his fellows.

Again, he was wont to repeat among his playmates, mustered on the shores of some little inlet and each with his mimic bark, while he himself, perched on a rocky eminence, various, "make believe" orders, in imitation of the mariners. At other times, he passed his days alone, sometimes along the coasts, at other times constructing and launching his toy ships in the little brook that flowed by the north meadow, but which is now dry save in the rainy seasons.

Thus we see that whether man or boy, John Paul was not moulded in the stamp of character which shrinks from facing what he once firmly resolved to do. So constituted was he that whatever seemed his duty, he let no excuse or obstacle arise to thwart the accomplishment of his set purpose.

A sailor's life, with all of its attending hardships and varying fortunes, was his decided choice, and we can well imagine with what heart burnings and great reluctance he was sent by his father across the Solway and bound apprentice to a Mr. Younger, of Whitehaven, in Cumberland. As his father had served an apprenticeship, so young Paul was bound out to service—to a life on the seas—at the tender age of twelve years.

CHAPTER II.

GOES TO SEA—SETTLES IN VIRGINIA.

John Paul was not yet thirteen years of age when he first saw America. His initial voyage was made in the brigantine Friendship, Captain John Benson commanding, which sailed from Whitehaven early in the spring of 1760, bound for Jamaica by the way of Virginia. The vessel ascended the Rappahannock as far as Fredericksburg, in order to obtain such supplies and make such repairs as were required after an eventful voyage in which the brig had several times become disabled owing to the unusually rough seas which were not unexpected at this season of the year. A collision with an iceberg which almost capsized the ship; one whole week passed in plowing through tempestuous seas in the face of a blinding storm of hail, sleet and snow alternately; two weeks aground on the banks of Newfoundland; a week becalmed in mid-Atlantic—these and numberless other causes added to the discomfiture of the crew; but the complete exhaustion of both provisions and water gave them greater anxiety than any of their other troubles. We can imagine the rejoicing on board the Friendship when it came to anchor in the beautiful inlet of Carter's Creek, on the north shore of the Rappahannock, a few miles above its junction with the Chesapeake. Had the vessel been delayed a

few days longer, the pangs of hunger and of thirst would doubtless have driven many of the poor fellows to acts of desperation.

It was now almost mid-summer. The balmy airs from the ocean, mingling with a gentle west wind, freighted with the perfumes of a dense semi-tropical foliage and the music from a thousand feathered songsters —all amid a landscape such as young Paul had never beheld—must have seemed to him a wonderful contrast to the caprices of nature he had just experienced out on the Atlantic. His introduction to America could not have been under more favorable auspices if he could forget the trying experiences of that long and distressing sea-voyage.

When the vessel left Whitehaven, Paul had no intention of remaining in America longer than was required to reprovision the ship and make such repairs as might be found necessary after a three-thousand mile cruise, but after the experience he had just gone through in his first long sea-voyage, and the lasting impression the first view of America made upon his youthful mind, he prevailed upon the captain to allow him to remain with his brother until the return of the Friendship from its voyage to the West Indies. After receiving such supplies as were absolutely necessary, the Friendship continued its voyage up the Rappahannock as far as the City of Fredericksburg, near which, we remember, is buried Mary Ball Washington, the mother of our first President. Not far distant was also the home of Paul's elder brother William, who had married and settled upon an estate of some two or three hundred acres.

Much importance attaches to this old homestead, for it was here just one hundred and two years later that the army of the south met the army of the north and seventeen thousand men died for the causes they respectively believed to be right. Though the dwellings and orchards were completely destroyed by the fierce cannonading and musketery, evidences still exist of the ambitious efforts of its former owner to build on the banks of the Rappahannock what his father's master had on the shores of the Solway.

It was here that young Paul came immediately upon the arrival of the ship at Fredericksburg. We can scarcely imagine the joy that the meeting of the two brothers for the first time occasioned. The sudden appearance in this far off country of one who was not yet born when the elder Paul left his old home in the highlands, and coming as he did unheralded and without giving the slightest intimation of his intended visit, the meeting must have been at once romantic and affecting. Under a sky as blue as ever shone above the Bay of Naples, with a west wind as balmy as the breezes that sweep the plains of Tuscany, resonant with the songs of birds and the murmuring of the swiftly flowing waters of the Rappahannock—it was here the brothers met, and the impression formed, stamped itself so deeply on the mind of the youthful adventurer that years after he wrote in memory of the event: "America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen when I first saw it."

In a few days the novelty of his new surroundings and the effects of that long and harrowing sea-voyage

had worn off. Being a close observer he was quick to comprehend his new environments, and he was not backward in accepting their responsibilities. He saw his brother, who was without culture or learning, honored and respected among his neighbors, even as Mr. Craik was in the parish of Kirkbean. He observed the carriages as they went by, that they bore no coat-of-arms; the occupants had not the air of the well-fed, well-groomed English aristocrat; but on the other hand, the haughty demeanor—if there was any—was that of one conscious of the fact that he was as good as his neighbor, that he bowed to no man because of rank or station, for here, there was neither. All men in America were equal. Freedom was no longer to him a myth. The spirit, born in restraint, had burst its bounds and an inordinate ambition such as only those who have felt the fetters can know, took possession of mind, body and soul of this young Scotchman.

In his youthful hours of reverie he had resolved to humble the pride of boastful Britain, by attacking, single handed if need be, her invincible navy, her imperial cities by the sea, and her maritime commerce that encompassed the globe. If the spirit of revenge for the wrongs he believed his ancestors had suffered was strong enough to cause him to make so dire a threat while yet a British subject, what must have been the feelings that stirred his soul when he saw three thousand miles of ocean rolling between him and his native shores, hated and despised because of her spirit of domination—to rule or ruin?

John Paul was yet a mere boy, a lad of less than

a dozen years, when he began to harbor these bitter feelings of revenge. The more he thought of the wrongs and persecutions heaped upon his defenseless ancestors, the greater became his hatred of King George and the Home Government that ruled her dependencies with a despotism second only to that of the Czar of Russia. But the hour had not yet come when the colonies in America (single or United) would feel strong enough to declare themselves free and independent, capable of battling with the intricate problems that daily confront nations and states.

Though young Paul had renounced his allegiance to Great Britain he still cherished a strong love for his oppressed countrymen struggling under the yoke of British tyranny. Having once tasted the sweets of freedom—freedom born of security through distance from the oppressor, he resolved never to lose a moment in preparing himself for a life on the seas, so that should the time ever come when occasion demanded his services, he would be prepared to command not only one ship, but a dozen—a fleet of a hundred vessels.

Diligently he pursued the fascinating studies of navigation and mathematics; geography, history, German, French, Spanish and a general improvement of his English composition occupied every moment of his spare time. To become a great and successful navigator or naval commander he realized the importance of possessing every accomplishment. To be able to speak the various languages would render him independent of interpreters, he reasoned, and years afterward, these several attainments stood him in good stead, for when his

crews were made up of the ignorant, one language, rabble of every country in Europe, he commanded respect and a fair measure of subordination by addressing each man in his own tongue. While living in the foreign capitals—Paris, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, Constantinople—he found favor with the court officials because he spoke the language and entered into their life and customs with the spirit of native grace and dignity.

But to return to the Friendship and her motley crew of adventurers; after a month or so spent in Virginia she departed on her voyage to the West Indies. Some months were spent in cruising from island to island gathering a cargo of slaves, grain and tropical fruits, after which she sailed for England, where she arrived late in the fall of 1760. When Mr. Younger learned of Paul's determination to temporarily retire from his service, he was naturally very much disappointed; but Paul had written him setting forth his aims and hopes and concluded by saying that he would re-enter his employ when the Friendship or any other vessel belonging to him arrived in Virginia. Mr. Younger replied that he would send no more vessels to America, as the slave trade was no longer profitable and the demand for slaves was growing less and less each year.

During the short time Paul had been in his employ at Whitehaven, his good conduct, intelligence and absorbing interest in his chosen profession, had procured for him Mr. Younger's lasting friendship, as well as his future favor and protection. Mr. Younger owned several vessels employed in the American trade and

though he was engaged largely in the slave traffic he was a kind and liberal master to the unfortunate creatures in which he bartered, as well as to Paul, whom he had come to look upon as his future partner and representative in America. From the embarrassment of his own affairs the following spring, however, Mr. Younger was unable to fulfil these promises, but in releasing Paul from his unexpired term of apprenticeship he did all that he could then perform.

Late in the summer of 1763 there came to anchor in the Rappahannock, just below Fredericksburg, the King George of Whitehaven, a staunch brig of three sails and topmast, with a crew of sixty-five men and officers. More out of curiosity than in anticipation of future employment young Paul visited the ship in company with his brother William. He was surprised to see on board the vessel many of the men who had composed the Friendship's crew three years before. Upon learning his name the captain produced a letter addressed to "John Paul, Esquire, Virginia in America." The letter acquainted him of the health of Mr. Younger, who had expressed great solicitude for Paul's health and happiness. The captain was authorized, the writer said, to tender Paul the post of third mate, which offer was made through the good offices of Mr. Younger.

Paul had long been waiting for just such an opportunity, having grown tired of the monotonous life of a student, and was anxious to put into practice much of the knowledge he had acquired through study. He had longed to return to sea-service, but the opportunity had not presented itself until now. Without a mo-

ment's delay he accepted the post and on the following day the two brothers parted never to meet again. Slowly the vessel descended the Rappahannock, and when she had gained the open sea, the sails were spread and the King George headed for Jamaica and the Caribbees.

This vessel was also employed in the American slave trade, though not exclusively, for the industry was yearly becoming less profitable in England owing largely to the Quakers, who had issued strong dissuasives against the practice. Paul remained on this vessel until 1766, having made many trips between Jamaica and Liverpool.

About this time he was appointed chief mate of the brigantine Two Friends of Kingston, and continued bartering in slaves, but on a much smaller scale as compared with the Friendship or King George. The few slaves that found their way to England were afterward sent to Spain and Portugal, as traffic was prohibited in many of the coast cities. Maize, coffee, bananas, oranges, lemons, cocoanuts, and other tropical fruits constituted the cargo of the Two Friends on the return voyage. It is stated by his relatives that Paul quitted the abominable slave trade in disgust at its enormities, "a violation," said he, "of the rights of man." In consequence of abandoning it, he returned to Scotland in 1768 as a passenger in the brigantine John of Kirkcudbright with Captain Macadam commanding.

On this voyage the captain and mate both died of yellow fever contracted in Jamaica. There being no one on board capable of navigating the ship, John Paul

assumed the command and brought the vessel safely into port. For this service he was appointed master and supercargo by Messrs. Currie, Beck & Co., owners of the John as well as a number of other merchantmen on the Atlantic.

While Paul was on board this vessel, a circumstance occurred which afterwards, in times of violent prejudice and party feeling in England, but more especially during the progress of the Revolution in America, was eagerly used to traduce and blacken his character. He was often represented as a cruel and lawless brigand, eager to plunder and thirsting for blood and guilty of a thousand enormities, though of what precise character no one could or would specify. It was confidently stated —and is still very generally believed in England—that while in the command of the John he punished a man named Mungo Maxwell, the ship's carpenter, so severely that he died in consequence of the stripes he received. The affidavits secured at the time clearly refute this calumny, which probably originated among those of his contemporaries who envied the place and influence his superior intelligence and energy had so early acquired for him.

The following official document is but one of many yet preserved among Paul Jones' effects which he thought proper or found expedient to procure in relation to this affair:

"James Eastment, mariner, and late master of the Barcelona packet, maketh oath, and saith, That Mungo Maxwell, carpenter, formerly on board the John, Captain John Paul, master, came in good health on board

his, this deponent's said vessel, then lying in Great Rockley Bay, in the island of Tobago, about the middle of the month of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, in the capacity of a carpenter aforesaid; that he acted as such in every respect in perfect health for some days after he came on board this deponent's vessel, the Barcelona packet; after which he was taken ill of a fever and lowness of spirits which continued for four or five days, when he died on board the said vessel, during her passage from Tobago to Antigua. And this deponent further saith that he never heard the said Mungo Maxwell complain of having received any ill usage from the said Captain John Paul, but that he, this deponent, verily believes the said Mungo Maxwell's death was occasioned by a fever and lowness of spirits, as aforesaid, and not by or through any other cause or causes whatsoever.

"James Eastment.

"Sworn at the Mansion House, London, this 30th of January, 1773, before me, James Townsend, Mayor."

It has been alleged that about this time young Paul was engaged in the contraband trade, then very generally practiced among the self-named "fair dealers" of the towns along both shores of the Solway as well as along the west coast of Wales and England. Without entering into the question of how far at that period the act of smuggling might otherwise affect a man's moral character or esteem in society, John Paul long afterward decidedly and indignantly denied the charge.

It is not a little remarkable, that many of his own



KING GEORGE III.

intelligent countrymen, do to this day know of Paul Jones, or John Paul, as some few called him, only as a wild reckless adventurer, a sort of modern buccaneer, possessed of no redeeming qualities save great personal courage and intrepidity—or as the subject of vulgar ballads and marvelous legends, daring, impossible and acting horrible deeds, among which were murder, arson, smuggling—in brief a pirate, bolder and more bloodthirsty than ever infested the Spanish Main, the Caribbean, or the Mediterranean in the days when buccaneering was a recognized profession.

One of the earliest letters of John Paul now extant relates to these unfortunate affairs which were calculated to make a deep impression on a young and ingenuous mind, and which gave him much uneasiness and pain. The letter is addressed to his mother and sisters and gives a better and fairer view of his youthful character than could be given by the most labored panegyric of a biographer:

"London, 24 September, 1772.

"My Dear Mother and Sisters:—I only arrived here last night from the Grenadas. I have had poor health during the voyage, and my success in not having equaled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and I am well assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better, and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and (which is by far my happiness) be serviceable to my poor but much valued friends. I am able to give you no account of my future proceedings, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

"I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit made before Governor Young, by the Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to me, my honor, by maliciously loading my fair character with oblique and vile aspersions. I believe there are few hard hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before heaven, who will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honor, life and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reason and facts will do it, that they have no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr. Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not perhaps be otherwise satisfied; in the meantime, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me before I left Scotland, I have not yet been able to get the better of. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern, but heaven can witness for me that I suffered the more on that very account.

"But enough of this. And now a word or two in the family way, and I have done. With affection,

"Yours always,

"John Paul."

As to the employer and patron of his deceased father,

young Paul naturally looked to Mr. Craik for advice and counsel as well as asking his protection and kindness to his mother and sisters. Mr. Craik wrote Paul at the request of his mother, setting forth the rumors current in England, stating at the same time that he was fully convinced of his innocence. This should settle in our minds the falsity of the unproved charges of murder, for we would not like to associate so horrible a crime with so great and honored a name as John Paul Jones.

While in London in the fall of 1772 he obtained command of the bark Betsy, a West India trading ship on which he made a number of voyages to those islands. His speculations in the islands, aside from those made in the interests of his employers, appear to have been chiefly in tropical fruits, tobacco, spices, coffee, maize, etc., taken in exchange for manufactured goods from England and the East. From correspondence and a marginal reference in his early journal, it appears that he left considerable property on the Island of Tobago and in the Grenadas. The property consisted chiefly, however, of produce, fruits and merchandise held by his agents during his absence en voyage. The goods being of a perishable character, were doubtless sold to prevent their total loss, and his agents, of whom he often complained, were too dishonest to reimburse him for his interest in the goods.

It was about this time, or a few months later, that the surname of Jones was adopted. Though many causes have been assigned for the reason of this arbitrary change, yet the best are merely conjecture. His

relations in Scotland were never able to assign one; there is no allusion to the circumstance in the journals and manuscripts which he left, and tradition is silent on the subject. It was however a caprice by no means singular in sea-faring men. It is mentioned in the biographical sketch written for the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, by Dr. Duncan, of Leith, that the custom of taking the father's Christian name as a patronymic, was not prevalent in the immediate vicinity of Paul's birthplace. But it was common in Wales, the Isle of Man, and other parts of Great Britain, with which he was as familiarly acquainted. It does not seem to be, in the language of logicians, "drawing a long conference," to suppose, that in adopting a country where he meant to establish his household gods, and be the father of his own line, he chose to assume a new name, which he had good reason for doing, and which should be his own, and that of his descendants. His retaining that by which he had been always known, proves that he did not consider it to have been sullied. It is only because calumny and invention had been busy with the topic, that it seems proper to suggest a plausible explanation for this change. In brief, the very common name of Jones (which might have been either Brown or Smith) was assumed presumably to quiet the talk in England concerning his conduct on the John, which was running high, but as a court having jurisdiction to try crimes committed on the high seas had exonerated him from all responsibility of the death of Maxwell, Paul need not have assumed the name of Jones from any fear of further prosecution. However,

it is well that we should believe that he desired to lose his identity for the time being at least, and should fame and fortune smile on him he could afterward reclaim his discarded name simply by dropping the name of Jones and live in retirement, without fear of insult and persecution.

In the spring of 1773, while in Havana, he learned of the death of his brother William. Transferring his interests in the cargo of the Betsy to the first mate, and sending the bark home in his care, Jones hastened to Virginia to assume charge of his brother's estate. Misfortune, however, had overtaken them both and neither the Virginia estate nor the properties in the West Indies availed Jones more than a pittance. For twenty months, it is said, he subsisted on the inconsiderable sum of fifty pounds ($250). It is to this period that he refers in his letter to the Countess Selkirk, when he says:

"Before the war (the American Revolution) I had at an early time of life withdrawn from the sea service, in favor of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among men."

The breaking out of the Revolution found Paul Jones living in deep retirement on the peaceful shores of the Rappahannock, but he was not an indifferent spectator to the events transpiring in the colonies. The battles of Concord and Lexington had been fought. Fort

Ticonderoga had surrendered to Ethan Allen and Washington was calling for volunteers to defend the coast cities against the invasion of the British.

Now was the opportunity for which Paul Jones had long been waiting. His disappearance from the sea had occasioned much comment in England, and he felt that while he was righting some of the wrongs he had suffered through false accusations he would not have to shoulder the burdens of *John Paul* in assuming the name of Paul Jones.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Though Paul Jones had not received his maritime education in ships of war, he had frequently sailed in armed vessels and had been early trained into an excellent, practical seaman, completely realizing the merchant-sailor's adage: "Aft the more honor—forward the better man."

The West Indies had long been a favorite resort for pirates, and all vessels visiting that part of the world carried a small armament and a crew trained in the use of these instruments of defense. In his correspondence and journal, Jones makes no mention of having come in contact with any of these sea-rovers, but we may be sure that had one chanced to meet the John or the Two Friends while the guns of those vessels were in charge of Paul Jones, there would have been little piracy practiced in those waters for some years to come.

It might not be out of place at this time to give a brief description of Paul Jones as he appeared upon his return to Fredericksburg after an absence of some ten or twelve years: In height he was a trifle above the medium, perhaps about five feet seven or eight inches, and weighing about 145 pounds. He was active and graceful in his movements, but quiet and manly

in deportment and capable of enduring great fatigue. His voice was soft and low even in delivering his commands. His countenance was thoughtful, melancholy and somewhat stern in its expression, though not so at all times. His carriage was manifestly that of a soldier, and when applying for a commission in the navy his officer-like appearance won for him a lieutenancy, which was shortly afterwards changed by the Marine Committee to a captaincy, upon the recommendation of Washington.

His nautical skill, as well as his boldness and capacity, were thus of incalculable value to the infant navy of America; and in 1775, when the combustibles of revolution, so long smouldering, burst into an open, irrepressible flame, his services were as readily accepted as they were heartily tendered. Thus we see how essential it was for Jones to possess a technical knowledge of navigation, gained by three long years of close application after a brief service on the sea. Added to this came twelve years of the hardest kind of sea service in vessels armed and equipped for battle and doubtless not without its "occasional alarm and an encounter," and all this before his twenty-sixth year.

In organizing the maritime service of the young Republic, three classes of lieutenants were appointed by the Marine Committee of Congress, and of the first class Paul Jones was appointed senior lieutenant. Only his extreme youth prevented his immediate appointment to a captaincy, for his knowledge of sailing, navigation and details of the manual of arms, surpassed that of any other appointment in the navy.

The first commission he received from Congress bears the date of December 7, 1775, and is signed by John Hancock, Robert Morris and William Whipple, members of the Marine Committee. Lieutenant Jones was assigned to duty on the Black Prince (the Alfred), a name of good omen they doubtless thought when they changed names, and it was on board of this vessel on New Year's day 1776, then lying before Philadelphia, that Paul Jones hoisted the ensign "Rattlesnake—Don't Tread On Me," the first time this or any other American flag was ever displayed on an American vessel.

The American navy at this time consisted of only two ships, two brigantines and one sloop. Even these it was not easy to officer with persons properly qualified. There were men in the colonies who had received some training on board British ships of war, but not in the capacity of officers. The Admiralty saw to it that no American rose higher than an ordinary seaman, for it might stand the colonies in good stead to be able to return blow for blow and in the way they were taught. It must not be forgotten that George Washington had received his military training under Dinwiddie and Braddock of the English army, and that it was he who marched in and planted the British flag on the yet smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne, Fort Pitt, or Pittsburg as the place has since been called.

The marine committee had dreams of a great navy, but they were without means to either build or buy ships, or procure capable men to officer them even if they had possessed the necessary funds or ships. Orders

had been placed for thirteen new frigates, however, to be completed within the year, and in order to properly man these vessels, more than one hundred men were taken aboard the Alfred under the command of Paul Jones, who had been directed to "instruct them in the arts and practices of war" for service in the new navy.

Among the papers drawn up by himself—and which remain among the effects of Paul Jones, is one prepared for the private information of Louis XVI, King of France, the friend and patron of America. This journal was read with absorbing interest by that unfortunate monarch while a close prisoner during the stormy days following the fall of the Bastile. This document contains the following clear and succinct account of Jones' early operations written in the third person, so that should it fall into other hands, it would not appear as self-laudation or a personal justification of his course in criticising the personnel of the infant navy:

"When Congress thought fit to equip a naval force toward the conclusion of the year 1775, for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof, it was a very difficult matter to find men fitly qualified for officers and willing to embark in the ships and vessels that were then put into commission. The American navy at first was no more than the ships Alfred and Columbus, and brigantines Andrew Doria and Cabot, and the sloop Providence. A commander-in-chief of the fleet, Ezekiel Hopkins, Esquire, was appointed, and Captains Dudley Saltonstall of the Alfred, Abraham Whipple of the Columbus, Nicholas Biddle of the Andrew Doria, and John B.

Hopkins, Jr., of the Cabot, were named for the ships and brigantines. The Alfred carried 30 guns and 300 men, the Columbus 28 guns and 300 men, the Andrew Doria 16 guns and 200 men, the Sebastian Cabot 14 guns and 200 men, the Providence 12 guns and 150 men.

"A captain's commission for the Providence, William Hazard commanding (bought, or to be bought, about this time, from Captain Whipple) which Mr. Joseph Hewes of the Marine Committee offered to his friend Mr. John Paul Jones, was not accepted because Mr. Jones had never sailed in a sloop, and had no idea of the parts contained in the Declaration of Independence that took place the next year. It was his early wish to do his best for the cause of America, which he considered as the cause of human nature. He could have no object of self-interest, and having then no prospect that the American navy would soon become an established service, that rank was the most acceptable to him by which he could be the most useful in that moment of public calamity.

"There were three classes of lieutenants appointed: The first lieutenants were John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold, John Stansburg, Hersted Hacker and Jonathan Pitcher. The second lieutenants were Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warner, Thomas Weaver and George McDougall; and the third lieutenants were John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs and Daniel Vaughan. These with the four captains and Commander-in-Chief Hopkins, together with about 1,000 seamen, comprised the entire personnel of the American navy. What was

this insignificant force compared to the hundred vessels and the 38,000 well seasoned sailors and officers under the command of Admiral Richard Howe?

"Paul Jones, it will be noticed, was appointed first of the first lieutenants, which placed him well in command next to the four captains already mentioned. This commission is dated the 7th of December, 1775, as first lieutenant of the Alfred. On board of that ship, before Philadelphia, Jones hoisted the flag of America with his own hands the first time it was ever displayed. All the commissions for the officers of the Alfred were dated before those of the Columbus, previously referred to by Captain Jones.

"All the time this little squadron was fitting and manning, Mr. Jones superintended the affairs of the Alfred, and as Captain Saltonstall did not appear at Philadelphia, the Commander-in-Chief told Mr. Jones he should command that ship. A day or two before the squadron sailed from Philadelphia, manned and fit for sea, Captain Saltonstall appeared, and took command of the Alfred. The object of the first expedition was against Lord Duncan, in Virginia. But instead of proceeding immediately on that service, the squadron was hauled to the wharfs at Reedy Island, and lay there for six weeks frozen up. Here Mr. Jones and the other lieutenants stood the deck, watch and watch, night and day, to prevent desertion, and they lost no man from the navy.

"On the 17th of February, 1776, the squadron sailed from Cape Henlopen, in the Bay of Delaware; on the first of March the squadron anchored at Abaco, one

of the Bahama Islands, and carried in there two sloops belonging to New Providence; some persons on board the sloops informed that a quantity of powder and warlike stores might be taken in the forts of New Providence. An expedition was determined on against that island. It was resolved to embark the marines on board the two sloops. They were to remain below the deck until the sloops had anchored in the harbor close to the forts, and they were to land and take possession. There was not a single soldier on the island to oppose them; therefore the plan would have succeeded, and not only the public stores might have been secured, but a considerable contribution might have been obtained as a ransom for the town and island, had not the whole squadron appeared off the harbor in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered and the marines secured the forts. On the appearance of the squadron the signal of alarm was fired, so that it was impossible to think of crossing the bar. The commander-in-chief proposed to go around the west end of the island, and endeavor to march the marines up and get behind the town; but this could never have been effected. The islanders would have had time to collect; there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town. Mr. Jones, finding by the Providence pilots that the squadron might anchor under a key three leagues to windward of the harbor, gave this account to the commander-in-chief, who, objecting to the dependence on the pilots, Mr. Jones undertook to carry the Alfred safely in. He took the pilot with

him to the foretopmast head, from whence they could clearly see every danger, and the squadron anchored safe. The marines, with two vessels to cover their landing, were immediately sent in by the east passage. The commander-in-chief promised to touch no private property. The inhabitants abandoned the forts, and the Governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away in the night. This was foreseen, and might have been prevented, by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar. The squadron entered the harbor of New Providence and sailed from thence the 17th of March, having embarked the cannon, etc., that was found in the fort.

"In the night of the 9th of April on the return of the squadron from the Providence expedition, the American arms by sea were first tried in the affair with the Glasgow, off Block Island. Both the Alfred and the Columbus mounted two batteries consisting of 58 guns. The first battery was so near the water as to be fit for nothing except in a harbor or a very smooth sea. The sea at the time was perfectly smooth. Mr. Jones was stationed below deck to command the Alfred's first battery, which was well served whenever the guns could be brought to bear on the enemy, as appears by the official letters of the commander-in-chief giving an account of that action. Mr. Jones therefore did his duty; and as he had no direction whatever, either of the general disposition of the squadron, or the sails and helm of the Alfred, he can stand charged with no part of the disgrace of that night. The squad-

ron steered directly for New London, and entered that port two days after the action.

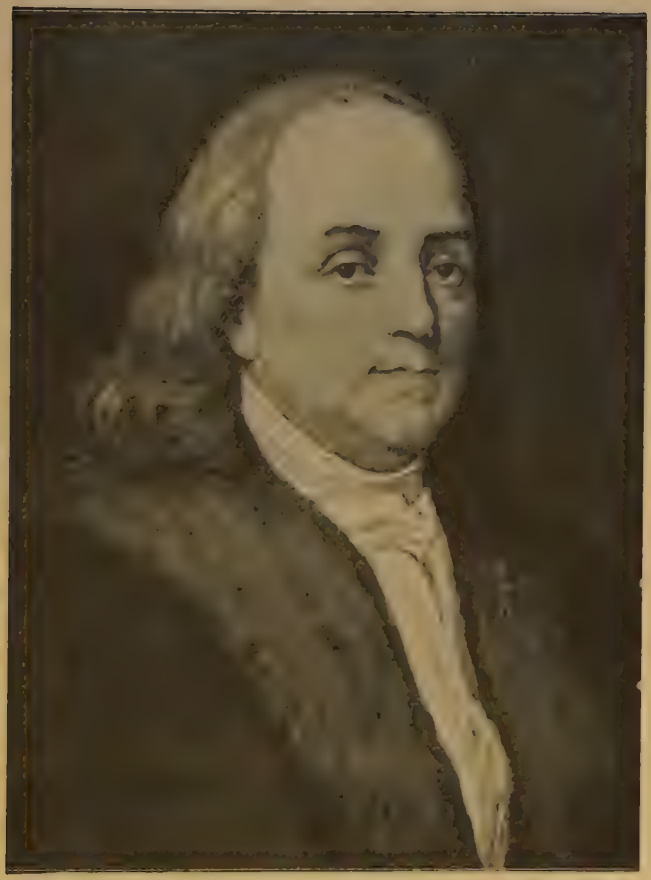
"Here General Washington lent the squadron 200 men, as was thought, for some enterprise. The squadron, however, stole quietly around to Rhode Island, and up the river to Providence. Here a court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Whipple, for not assisting in the action with the Glasgow. Another court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Hazard, who had been appointed captain of the sloop Providence at Philadelphia, some time after Mr. Jones had refused that command. Captain Hazard was sick and rendered incapable of serving in the navy. The next day, the 10th of May, 1776, Mr. Jones was ordered by the commander-in-chief to take command *'as captain of the Providence.'* This proves that Mr. Jones did his duty on the Providence expedition.

"As the Commander-in-Chief Hopkins had in his hands no blank commission, he had this appointment written on the back of the commission that Mr. Jones had received at Philadelphia the 7th of December, 1775. Captain Jones had orders to receive on board the Providence the soldiers that had been borrowed of General Washington, and carry them to New York, there to enlist as many seamen as he could and then return to New London, to take in from the hospital all the seamen that had been left by the squadron, and were recovered, and carry them to Providence. Captain Jones soon performed these services, and having hove down the sloop and partly fitted her for war at Providence, he received orders from the commander-in-chief, dated

Rhode Island, June 10, 1776, to come immediately down to take a sloop then in sight, armed for war, belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones obeyed orders with alacrity, but the enemy had disappeared before he reached Newport.

"On the 13th of June, 1776, Captain Jones received orders, dated that day at Newport, Rhode Island, from the commander-in-chief to proceed to Newburyport to take under convoy some vessels bound for Philadelphia, but first to convey Lieutenant Hacker in the Fly, with a cargo of cannon, into the Sound for New York, and to convoy some vessels back to Stonington to the entrance of Newport. In performing these last services, Captain Jones found great difficulty from the enemy's frigates, then cruising around Block Island, with which he had several encounters; in one of which he saved a brigantine that was a stranger from Hispaniola, closely pursued by the British ship Cerberus, and laden with provisions and public stores. This brigantine was afterward purchased by the Congress, and called the Hampden. Captain Jones received orders from the commander-in-chief to proceed to Boston instead of Newburyport. At Boston he was detained a considerable time by the delay of the purchasing agent in securing the necessary supplies. He did not arrive with his convoy from Boston, in the Delaware, until the 1st of August. This service was performed while the enemy was arriving at Sandy Hook from Halifax and England."

This lengthy account of the details of Paul Jones' early operations in America has for us more than a



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

passing interest; it is valuable, firstly, because it presents in a concise, yet lucid form, the chief operations of the entire American navy in the early stages of the Revolution, wholly ignored by most of the biographers of Paul Jones and but slightly alluded to even by the prosiest of historians, and secondly it furnishes a clearer insight to the character of the founder of our navy than all the histories and memoirs of Jones have so far given us. No matter what may be our private opinion of his character, his patriotism and his devotion to the principles of free government, as exemplified by the Constitution, stand unimpeached. He consecrated his life to the "cause of freedom and the rights of man," and was ever ready to defend his convictions or to be sacrificed on the altar of human liberty, should the hour demand so great a forfeiture.

Jones was but twenty-eight past when we ascribe to him the distinction of being the founder of the American navy, and though he lived long enough to receive full assurance that his services were appreciated, yet we must acknowledge that the indifference and neglect that those astute founders of States displayed toward him was largely the cause of the continuance of difficulties with England. It is firmly believed by many that had Paul Jones been placed at the head of the navy when he demonstrated his ability to command and execute the orders received from his superiors in a masterly manner—if given full authority to act independently of Congress and the entangling alliances with which he was continually subjected, he would have prevented in a large measure the landing of re-

inforcements from England. The war could have been brought to a close by the quick, decisive, and well-directed operations of the navy acting in harmony with the land forces under Washington.

Without an effective navy and a master at the helm there was no way of preventing the enemy from landing as many men as British gold could buy, and it seemed only a question of time when the little handful of colonists must succumb to overwhelming numbers of Hessian hirelings and British adventurers.

The presence of so many of the enemy's ships at this time was a part of General Howe's plan to shut Washington up in New York. The battle of Long Island, resulting so disastrously as it did to the Americans, had been fought; Washington had escaped across the bay to New York, where he established temporary headquarters at the old Beekman mansion, near the present site of the Grand Central Station; Captain Nathan Hale, who had been commissioned first lieutenant a short time prior to the date of Jones' commission as first lieutenant, and whose commission to a captaincy also preceded that of Jones by a few months, had been captured and hanged as a spy. Ethan Allen, the hero of Fort Ticonderoga, had been captured in his ill-planned invasion of Canada and carried in chains to England. The Revolution was now in full sway, and for seven long years the colonists suffered many reverses and endured untold privations during the short time it was their privilege to enjoy the freedom they so dearly purchased.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NAVY.

Paul Jones was yet in his twenty-ninth year—the very prime of his activities—full of talent, enterprise and patriotism; he was ardent and ambitious, and thought it nothing short of a crime, for which no punishment could be too severe, for an American to be indifferent to the events transpiring around him, and more especially when each blow struck was in defense of liberty—the liberation of four million human beings from a bondage but little removed from the condition to which their descendants subjected an equal number of their fellow beings, until a Lincoln burst their shackles after four score years of national dishonor.

Many causes combined to convince Jones that the colonies had a just grievance against the mother country. The colonies were right, he argued, in demanding justice, liberty and the right to self-government. Taxation without representation was servitude pure and simple, reasoned Jones, and after all, thought he, what right had England to levy taxes in America more than Spain, France, Portugal, or any other colonizing power, who, perchance, had subjects here? If England could demand tribute in the name of taxation, why would he not be justified by the same international law that

recognized England's right to plunder her subjects in America, to lay siege to her coast cities and demand ransom—under whatever name they wished to call it—ransom, piracy, buccaneering—that he, too, might be able to carry on an internecine warfare.

What better disciple of a pure democracy could the cause of republicanism in America have had in the first stages of its conception, its parturition and subsequent development, than this venturesome iconoclast from imperial Britain? A man who, from the age of twelve years had been a wanderer on the deep, must have been as much at home in America as he was in his native highlands. Both countries must have appeared to him as integral portions of the same state with only civil dissensions and his individual circumstances to determine the part he should take. Thus, right or wrong as to the side he took, he stood clear in his own conscience, and to question his motives in espousing the cause of the colonies would be little less atrocious than to impugn the motives of Washington, and other defenders of the Constitution, when many of them had actually served in the British army in America.

In the heat of a struggle, which, from its very nature, was like the feuds of the nearest relatives, singularly rancorous and bitter, Jones was branded as a traitor, a pirate, a libertine, and a felon; after his most brilliant action, the capture of the Serapis, he was formally denounced by the British Ambassador at The Hague (Sir Joseph Yorke) as a rebel and a pirate according to the laws of war. It must be remembered

that he bore this stigma in common with the best and greatest spirits of his contemporaries—with Adams, with Franklin, with Jefferson, and with Washington, the latter of whom, together with many of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, had actually borne arms in the service of the King of England.

The memory of Paul Jones now needs little vindication in the position he took with respect to the Revolution in the colonies. After the war he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Englishmen in all stations of life who might have forgiven the most embittered political hostility, but never could have overlooked a taint on personal honor.

In the organization of the navy, Jones took a supreme interest. He had been trained in a good school—the school of experience. He knew the importance of proper subordination, and of the strict enforcement of a rigid system of discipline, which, however unpleasant to the rebellious spirit of citizenship, is especially indispensable to the sea service. His views of maritime policy show much soundness, and considering that he was still a young man, and a very young officer, he displayed great judgment and understanding of naval and state affairs.

"As the regulations of the navy," he says in a letter to Robert Morris, a member of the Marine Committee, "are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumptive if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honor and good government. I could heartily wish that every commissioned officer was to

be previously examined, for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualifications—I am myself far from desiring to be excused."

In other letters on this subject he eloquently recommends a liberal policy toward the private seamen and a general system worthy of a great and enlightened nation. "It is, he further says, "to the last degree distressing to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest. This, and this only, determines all adventures in privateers—the owners as well as those they employ, and while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that of privateers, it can never become respectable—it never will become formidable, and without a respectable navy, alas, alas, America!

"In the present critical situation of human affairs, wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient—enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes they take. What is the paltry emolument of two-thirds of the prizes to the finances of this vast continent? If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woeful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind; her affairs cry haste, and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded as being in the old vulgar proverb, 'penny wise and pound foolish.'

"If our enemy, with the best established and most formidable navy in the world, has found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such a policy essential to our infant fleet? But I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal, if not superior, to theirs. We have had proof that a navy may be officered almost upon any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a Board of Admiralty competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities of their officers, and to superintend, regulate and point out all the motions and operations of the navy."

Paul Jones received his captain's commission from John Hancock, President of the Congress, on the 8th of August, 1776. The following is an exact copy of the commission, which was similar to that issued to two others on the same date when the relative rank of the captains was established by Congress:

IN CONGRESS.

"*The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia,*

"TO JOHN PAUL JONES, ESQ.

"We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your

patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, DO, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Captain in the navy of the United States of North America, fitted out for the defense of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefor carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers, marines and seamen under your command to be obedient to your orders as Captain. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or committee of Congress for that purpose appointed, or commander-in-chief for the time being of the navy of the United States, or other superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of War, the usage of the sea, and the instructions herewith given you, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in force, until revoked by this or a future Congress.

"Dated at Philadelphia, August 8, 1776.

"By order of the Congress,

"JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"Attest, Charles Thompson, Secretary."

At the same time it was proposed to Captain Jones by the Marine Committee that he should go to New London, Connecticut, to command the brigantine Hampden, but he preferred to remain in the sloop Providence, having previously received orders to go

out on a cruise against the enemy "for six weeks, or for two or three months." His instructions were not limited to any particular station or service. He left the Delaware on the 21st of August and arrived off Rhode Island on the 7th of October, 1776, just two weeks after the capture of Captain Nathan Hale a little farther up the sound.

On board the Providence, which carried only twelve guns, were but seventy men when the vessel left the Delaware. Near the latitude of the Bermudas Jones had a narrow escape from the enemy's frigate, the Solbay, bound for the Carolinas and having on board Colonel Ethan Allen, the hero of Fort Ticonderoga, who was being returned from England, where he had been carried a prisoner earlier in the fall. After a lively chase of six hours, continuing for some time within cannon shot of the enemy, Jones finally made good his escape. Afterwards, near the Isle of Sable, Jones had an engagement with the British frigate Milford, the firing lasting from ten o'clock in the morning until after sunset, without serious loss to either ship. The day after this encounter the Providence entered the harbor of Canso, where they recruited several men, took the tories' flags, destroyed the fishing and sailed away the next morning on an expedition against the island of Madame. Two days later Jones made two attacks on the principal forts of that island. The sudden attack surprised and terrorized the islanders, though there were hundreds of men and plenty of arms and ammunition available on the island.

This was all accomplished in making the voyage from the Delaware to Providence, and was performed in six weeks and five days, in which time the Providence took sixteen prizes, besides a great number of small craft. Jones equipped eight of them from the crew of the Providence, and sunk, burned, or otherwise destroyed the rest.

In consequence of these successes Commodore Hopkins ordered an expedition against Cape Breton and the fisheries, as well as to relieve a number of American prisoners from the coal mines where they were enforced into labor by the British. The Alfred had remained idle ever since the Providence expedition, and was without a commander or crew. It was proposed to put this vessel as well as the brig Hampden and the sloop Providence into commission and all under the command of Captain Jones, who had been given orders to prepare for the expedition. The Alfred was in better sailing condition than the Providence, and on the 22 of October Jones transferred his flagship from the latter to the former.

Finding it impossible to enlist a sufficient number of seamen to man the three vessels, he decided to leave the Providence behind; but the wreck of the Hampden, on the 27th of October, when under command of Captain Hacker, necessitated the refitting of the Providence, which required but five days. On the 2d of November, with only 140 men aboard the Alfred, and the Providence with but 125, Captain Jones laid his course to the northward, his objective point being Cape Breton. The vessels anchored for the night at Tar-

pawling Cove, near Nantucket, R. I., and finding there a privateer inward bound, Jones went aboard in search of deserters; finding four men carefully concealed he took them aboard the Alfred, together with some twelve or fifteen seamen, for his crews on both vessels required 100 men to make up the necessary complement. The owner of the vessel brought action against Paul Jones in the sum of £10,000 ($50,000), but the case never came to trial owing to the unsettled condition of the civil courts as well as to the unwillingness of the Rhode Island authorities to interfere with the good work then being accomplished by Captain Jones in defense of the colonies.

Proceeding with the expedition, a brig richly laden with dry goods, a smack with a cargo of fish and a small armed ship, the Mellish, bound for Montreal and laden with clothing for the British troops in Canada, were captured by Jones off Louisburg without much resistance. The next day, November 18, dawned gray and cheerless; a heavy snow fell on the land and flurries swept across the waves, and by noon a violent gale was blowing from off Cape Breton, which necessitated casting anchor to prevent the separation of the fleet. The storm continued for some time, doing considerable damage to both the Providence and the Alfred. As soon as the storm abated and repairs were made on the disabled ships Captain Jones signalled the sloop Canso, and together they destroyed a large British transport, burned the oil warehouses and captured several small vessels lying in the harbor at Louisburg. On the 24th Jones captured three out of five of the British coal

fleet bound for New York, being towed by the Flora. On the 26th he took a letter-of-marque ship from Liverpool.

He had now 150 prisoners on board the Alfred and as his crew consisted of about the same number it was necessary for him to seek some friendly port with the five prize ships and prisoners. He therefore set sail for Boston, at which port he arrived December 5.

Immediately upon arrival at Boston he communicated with Washington, informing him of the shipment of a considerable quantity of clothing and provisions, which Washington received just before he recrossed the Delaware. What rejoicing there must have been when the starving, freezing, bleeding patriots received this small stock of provisions and raiment! We may be sure that Washington saw to the division of the raiment himself; that he saw that no man got more than a coat, or a pair of shoes, but not both.

By a letter from Commander-in-Chief Hopkins, dated on board the Warren, at Providence, January 14, 1777, Jones was superseded by Captain Hinman, who said he had a commission from Congress to take immediate command of the Alfred. This attempt to supersede him was the first occasion on which Jones decidedly showed his firmness and tenacity of character and his determination to assert his rights. Even then, unknown, and without friends to assist him, he was quite equal to the undertaking of placing himself rightly before Congress. In a letter to the Marine Committee, dated January 21, 1777, which was followed the next day by a journey from Boston to Philadelphia in order to

ascertain the cause of his removal and reply thereto in person, shows the neglect and heart burnings to which this brave man was subjected from the first hour of his entering the American navy. Three-fourths of his whole life was a struggle to overcome the prejudices, defeat the cabals, or quicken the tardy justice of his temporary official superiors.

Six weeks after his removal from the command of the Alfred (though in the interim he had by no means been inactive or unmindful of his country's welfare, as will be seen from the following defensible letter), he was still in idleness, awaiting the pleasure of Congress. This letter, though a little tardy in reaching its destination, did not, however, fail of setting him right in the estimation of the Marine Committee:

"Boston, 21st January, 1777.

"*Robert Morris, Esquire, Marine Committee:*

"Sir:—I am now to inform you, that by a letter from Commodore Hopkins, dated on board the Warren, January 14, 1777, which came to my hands a day or two ago, I am superseded in the command of the Alfred in favor of Captain Hinman, and ordered back to the sloop in Providence River. Whether this order doth or doth not supersede also your orders to me of the 10th ult., you can best determine; however, as I undertook the late expedition at his (Commodore Hopkins') request, from a principle of humanity, I mean not now to make a difficulty about trifles, especially when the good of the service is to be consulted. As I am unconscious of any neglect of duty, or misconduct since

my appointment at the first as elder lieutenant of the navy, I cannot suppose that you have intended to set me aside in favor of any man who did not at that time bear a captain's commission, unless indeed, that man, by exerting his superior abilities, hath rendered, or can render, more important services to America.

"Those who stepped forth at the first, in ships altogether unfit for war, were generally considered rather as frantic than as wise men; for it must be remembered, that almost everything then made against them. And although the success in the affair with the Glasgow was not equal to what it might have been, yet the blame ought not to be general. The principal or principals in command alone are culpable; and the other officers, while they stand unimpeached, have their full merit. There were, it is true, divers persons, from misrepresentation, put into commission at the beginning, without fit qualification and perhaps the number may have been increased by later appointments; but it follows not that the gentleman or men of merit should be neglected or overlooked on their account. None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman both in theory and practice, is qualified to support the character of a commissioned officer in the navy; nor is any man fit to command a ship of war who is not also capable of communicating his ideas on paper in language that becomes his rank. If this be admitted, the foregoing operations will be sufficiently clear, but if further proof is required it can easily be produced.

"When I entered the service, I was not actuated by motives of self-interest. I stepped forth as a free citi-

zen of the world, in defense of the violated rights of mankind, and not in search of riches, whereof, I thank God, I inherit a sufficiency; but I should prove my degeneracy were I not in the highest degree tenacious of my rank and seniority. As a gentleman, I can yield this point up only to persons of superior ability and superior merit; and under such persons it would be my highest ambition to learn. As this is the first time of my having expressed the least anxiety on my own account, I must entreat your patience until I account to you for the reason which hath given me this freedom of sentiment.

"It seems that Captain Hinman's commission is Number One, and that, in consequence, he was at first my junior officer by right, hath expressed as my senior officer in a manner which doth himself no honor, and which doth me signal injury. There are also in the navy, persons who have not shown me fair play after the service I have rendered them. I have even been blamed for civilities which I have shown to my prisoners, at the request of one whom I herein enclose an appeal, which I must beg leave to lay before Congress. Could you see the appellant's accomplished lady, and the innocents, their children, arguments in their behalf would be unnecessary. As the base minded only are capable of inconsistencies, you will not blame my free soul, which can never stoop where I cannot also esteem. Could I, which I never can, bear to be superseded, I should indeed deserve your contempt and total neglect. I am, therefore, to entreat you to employ me in the most enterprising and active service, accountable

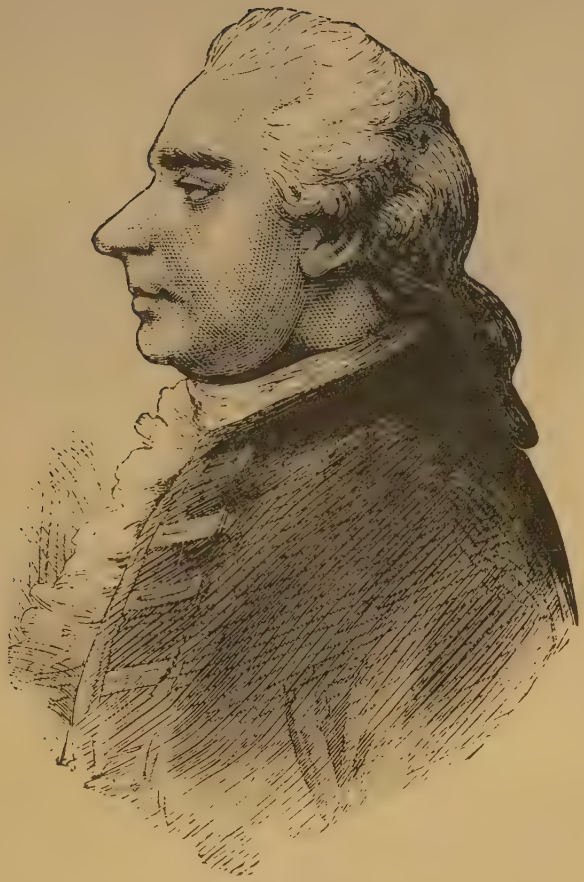
to your honorable board only, for my conduct, and connected as much as possible with gentlemen and men of good sense.

"I have the honor to be with much respect,

"JOHN PAUL JONES."

It must be admitted that Paul Jones, whether in the service of Mr. Younger, the shipowner of Whitehaven, or that of America, never lost an opportunity of bringing himself forward and placing his services in a fair light. Though he never claimed more than his due, as we now see it, yet he never through delicacy or indifference allowed his efforts to be ignored.

"My conduct hitherto," he says, in a memorial to Congress from the Texel, "was so much approved of by Congress, that on the 5th of February, 1777, I was appointed, with unlimited orders, to command a little squadron of the ships Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden and the sloop Providence. Various important services were pointed out, but I was left at free liberty to make my election. That service, however, did not take place; for the commodore, who had three of the squadron blocked in at Providence, affected to disbelieve my appointment, and would not at last give me the necessary assistance. Finding that he trifled with my applications as well as the orders of Congress, I undertook a journey from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person. I took this trip because Captain Hinman had succeeded me in the command of the Alfred, and, of course, the service could not suffer through my absence. I arrived



SILAS DEANE.

at Philadelphia on the beginning of April. But what was my surprise to find, that by a new line of the navy rank, which had taken place on the 10th of October, 1776, all the officers that had stepped forth at the beginning were superseded! I was myself superseded by thirteen men, not one of whom did (and perhaps some of them durst not) take the sea against the British flag at the first; for several of them who were then applied to refused to venture—and none of them have since been very happy in proving their superior abilities. Among these thirteen there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom, as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate. I leave your excellency and the Congress to judge how this must affect a man of honor and sensibility."

The appearance of Jones at Congress at this time; his apppeals to their justice; his animated remonstrances, and the capacity displayed in the hints and projects he threw out, had a good effect. They inspired esteem for his character, and gave confidence in his ability. This became apparent in the immediate proceedings of that body, for "Congress," he says, "saw fit to drop the expedition that had been proposed; and the Marine Committee appeared very sorry that there was not then vacant a good ship for my command. Three ships were ordered to be purchased in the eastern department, and by a resolution of Congress March 15, I was authorized to take my choice of these ships, until Congress could provide a better command. I then returned to Boston, and before this last plan could be

carried into execution I received a new and honorable proof of the good opinion of Congress by being ordered on the 9th of May, 1777, to proceed to France from Portsmouth in the Amphitrite, with a positive order to the Commissioners at Paris to invest me with the command of a fine ship as a reward for my zeal and the signal services I had performed in vessels of little force. This was generous, indeed, and I shall feel the whole force of the obligation to the last moment of my life."

IN MARINE COMMITTEE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 9, 1777.

John Paul Jones, Esq.

SIR—Congress have thought proper to authorize the secret Committee to employ you on a voyage in the Amphitrite from Portsmouth to Carolina and France, where it is expected you will be provided with a fine frigate; as your present commission is for the command of a particular ship, we now send you a new one, whereby you are appointed a Captain in our navy, and of course may command any ship in the service to which you are to obey the orders of the secret Committee. We are, sir, Yours, etc.,

[Signed] JOHN HANCOCK,
ROBERT MORRIS.
WM. WHIPPLE.

The letter which Paul Jones took to Europe, addressed to the Commissioners at Paris, confirms the sincerity of the purpose of Congress. It also put to

rest the charge of piracy or that Jones was nothing more than the commander of a privateer, winked at, or perhaps secretly aided by Congress, but never recognized as a regularly appointed commander in the American service during his cruises on the British coasts.

His first act on reaching France was to write to the Commissioners, to whom he was now to look for orders and also for equipments. Though his first note was brief, it showed his deep appreciation of the recognition and confidence which the Congress reposed in him, and also his devotion to the spirit of freedom as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, adopted on the 4th of the preceding July. "I yesterday," he writes to the Commissioners at Paris, "inclosed you copies of two letters which I wrote you previous to my departure from Portsmouth, together with a plan which I drew up at Philadelphia, on the regulation and equipment of our infant navy. It is my first and favorite wish to be employed in active and enterprising services, when there is a prospect of rendering acceptable services to America. The singular honor which Congress has done me by their generous acknowledgment of my past services hath inspired me with sentiments of gratitude which I shall carry with me to my grave; and if a life of service devoted to America can be made instrumental in securing its independence I shall regard the continuance of such approbation as an honor far superior to what kings ever could bestow."

On reaching Paris late in December, Paul Jones hastened to the residence of Benjamin Franklin, where he had been summoned to go with all possible haste.

Here he found Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, the latter of whom had just returned from L'Orient, whither he had been sent by Franklin to negotiate for the purchase of a number of vessels purported to be for sale at that port. The Commissioners were seriously considering the advisability of purchasing an entire fleet of three or four ships and others of smaller force, when Jones entered the small and poorly furnished apartments of the frugal Franklin. Though the great man had been tendered more sumptuous quarters by the King, Louis XVI, we are not surprised that he should have declined to accept apartments in Palace Royal, when we read further on of his desperate effort to obtain sufficient means to supply the bare necessities of the American arms in Europe, not to mention his European mission to obtain funds to aid the starving, freezing patriots of the infant Republic across the sea.

The meeting was cordial in the extreme, for Franklin recognized that whatever good was to be accomplished by an American fleet in European waters, it must be done at once, and Jones had been sent by the Congress to carry out the wishes of the Commissioners. When ushered into the presence of Franklin and his fellow-Commissioners—Deane and Lee—Jones displayed as little ostentation as though he were bearer of a message and not an envoy commissioned by Congress to command a fleet that was destined to perform greater deeds than had yet been witnessed, and none more decisive since, until the day Admiral Schley destroyed the Spanish fleet off Santiago, while Dewey was bringing still greater renown to American arms in the Far East.

In the following commission, signed by four of the most distinguished citizens in the Colonies and members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, Captain Jones had good reason to resent the charges of piracy, as well as to refuse the proffered command of privateers offered to him by the French Minister of Marine:

IN MARINE COMMITTEE.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th May, 1777.

Honorable Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to be delivered to you by John Paul Jones, Esq., an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal service in vessels of little force; and in reward for his zeal we have directed him to go on board the Amphitrite, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Mons. Hostalez & Co., and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the Amphitrite; but our design in sending him is (with the approbation of Congress) that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr. Deane writes us you can get and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and dispatch, a fine-sailing frigate or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men toward manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent to sup-

ply him with everything necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned—somebody that will bestir himself vigorously in the business and never quit until it is accomplished.

If you have any plan or service to be formed in Europe by such a ship that you think will be more for the interest and honor of the States than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in, and whatever you do will be approved, as it will undoubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

You see by this step how much dependence Congress places in your advice, and you must make it a point not to disappoint Captain Jones' wishes and expectations on this occasion. We are yours, etc.,

ROBERT MORRIS,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
PHIL LIVINGSTON.

To the
HONORABLE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
SILAS DEANE, and
ARTHUR LEE, Esquires,
Commissioners, etc.

CHAPTER V.

GOES TO EUROPE.

Paul Jones had expected to sail for France in the Amphitrite, but was prevented from doing so at the last moment by its commander, who argued that while France and England were not in open conflict, it only lacked the slightest provocation on the part of France, or one of her subjects, for England to declare war against his country. The carrying of Paul Jones and his officers to France in a French vessel, he thought, would be ample grounds for such a declaration, and in addition to the danger of precipitating the two countries in war he stood in fear of capture and imprisonment, together with the loss of his ship. He therefore took "French leave" during the early morning hours, leaving Jones and his companions in a dejected but thoughtful mood. There was nothing to do now but to return to Boston and await the action of the Marine Committee, but we can be assured that Jones was not idle in the meantime.

While at Portsmouth he went aboard the Ranger, a vessel of little force, but which Jones thought might be put in seaworthy condition, without the loss of much time and at no great expense; so, without waiting for instructions from Congress, he ordered the Ranger put

in readiness for a voyage across the Atlantic, after which he made a full report to the Marine Committee concerning the conduct of the French commander of the Amphitrite and his action with regard to the Ranger. Within a fortnight after the departure of the Amphitrite and the receipt of Jones' letter he received a very satisfactory reply from John Hancock, severely criticising the conduct of the French Captain, but warmly approving Jones' action in leasing the Ranger, subject to the approval of Congress.

It was fortunate for Jones' after reputation that the Marine Committee had the forethought to send him a commission, bearing date of June 14, 1777, the result of a resolution passed that day by Congress, directing him to take command of the Ranger as soon as refitted and proceed to France, where further instructions awaited him. After the attempt made on Whitehaven, the capture of the Drake and numerous merchantment, the name of Paul Jones became a synonym for traitor, renegade and pirate, and not since the days of Spanish buccaneering was a man or ship so dreaded and strenuously avoided by seafaring men as that of "the Ranger and her crew of sea rovers, with the bold pirate Jones and his black flag."

It was a mistake to charge Paul Jones with piracy, and recent accounts published in England have very generously set at rest all such vilifying reports. Prejudice having died out, the true character of the man, as well as his motives, now place him in the light of a hero and a patriot. The Ranger, as well as the Bon Homme Richard (Bŏn-ŏ-mē' re-shár') were ships of war

in the service of the United States and flying the colors of the young Republic. Jones was the regularly appointed commander of both vessels, holding commissions from Congress signed by John Hancock, President, and attested by Charles Thompson, Secretary.

The character of the Ranger, as also that of the Bon Homme Richard, was certainly anomalous in any regular navy, but the new States were glad to possess any kind of a navy, whether under the guidance of a Marine Committee, an admiral or an individual commander. Jones preferred to act alone and single-handed, and his temper and the nature adopted by him proved that it was the most advantageous way of accomplishing England's defeat on the high seas. When harassed at home England felt that her time-honored maritime supremacy was in name only, and that she was not prepared to defend her own coasts and at the same time carry on a war with her rebellious Colonies.

On board the Ranger, small as was the force under his command, but with limited sailing orders, Jones resolved to prove to France and the Congress that had honored him with its confidence that his knowledge of warfare, even though he had not been trained in ships of war, was equal to twice his force in British arms. No enemy of Great Britain, sailing in an armed ship, knew the condition of her fortifications and defenses better than Paul Jones. He had sailed from nearly every port of consequence in England, and now that he had joined the fortunes of the Colonies and was commissioned to harass the enemy in European waters, it was not surprising that the presence of a Yankee fleet

commanded by Paul Jones was spreading alarm throughout the coast cities.

The war between France and Great Britain had not yet been declared, though they were in a state of understood if not avowed hostility. The instructions as to his conduct while in European waters is best expressed in the following brief letter received by Jones about the time he set sail for France in the Ranger:

IN MARINE COMMITTEE.

PHILADELPHIA, September 6, 1777.

Paul Jones, Esquire:

SIR—As soon as these instructions get to hand, you are to make immediate application to the proper persons to get your vessel victualed and fitted for sea with all expedition. When this is done proceed on a voyage to some convenient port in France. On your arrival there apply to the agent, if any, in or near said port for such supplies as you may stand in need of. You are at the same time to give notice by letter to the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, Esquires, or any of them, at Paris, of your arrival, requesting their instructions as to your further destination, which instructions you are to obey as far as it shall be in your power.

You are to take particular notice that while on the coast of France or in a French port you are, as much as you conveniently can, to keep your guns covered and concealed, and to make as little warlike appearance as possible. Wishing you, etc.

Upon his arrival at Nantes, France, Jones hastened

to Paris to meet the Commissioners. Leaving the Ranger to be put in repair, as it was considerably damaged in the transatlantic voyage, Jones gave instructions to his officers and crew to remain at Nantes until his return, which he thought would be within a fortnight. He fully expected to obtain command of the large ship (Indian) then building at Amsterdam, and therefore did not give definite instructions as to the manner in which the Ranger was to be overhauled and made ready to meet the British men-of-war. The vessel then building had been christened the Indian, and was to be the property of the United States as soon as completed, but the Commissioners thought fit to present it to the King of France, who in turn would use it to harass their common enemy—England. When Jones learned of the intention of the Commissioners he was greatly disappointed and did not hesitate to express his disgust to both Franklin and the Congress, and made it the subject of a lengthy argument for obtaining at least an equivalent command.

The purpose of the Commissioners in summoning Captain Jones to Paris was to avail themselves of his thorough knowledge of the English coast. This, together with his nautical experience, gained in seventeen years' sailing into or out of English ports, including a year of successful naval engagements on the coast of North America, rendered his services of exceeding value to the Commissioners.

Then again, a powerful maritime force under Count d'Estaing was forming, and it was at first desired to have Jones work in conjunction with d'Estaing in a

united attack upon the British. A treaty between France and America had been concluded, and many of the former's ablest soldiers, statesmen and men of letters were casting their fortunes with the young Republic, then scarcely two years old.

The bold and sagacious campaign planned against Admiral and Lord Howe, which, if it could have been carried into effect, would in all probability have speedily ended the war; but delays to which armaments are subject, have often proved disastrous in naval as well as in land engagements, and this affair between Paul Jones and Count d'Estaing on one side and the Howes on the other was no exception. Jones, however, claimed the fullest measure for planning this fruitless campaign in America, for in a letter to the French Minister of Marine, M. de Sartin, he says: "Had Count d'Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honor to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure."

It does not appear in any chronicle or memoir that Captain Jones accompanied d'Estaing to America, as some biographers assert, but, on the contrary, his journal shows that he must have lingered between Paris, L'Orient, Nantes and Passy during most of the winter of '77 and '78. Subsequent events proved that d'Estaing's failure to engage Admiral Howe and prevent his escape from the Delaware was due chiefly to his in-

ability to cross the Atlantic in the time necessary to catch Howe below Philadelphia. While the Commissioners keenly felt the ill success of the little squadron, they did not overlook the possibility of a defeat when they remembered that Admiral Howe's fleet consisted of more than thirty ships of war, while d'Estaing had not one-fourth the number of men or vessels, and after a sea voyage of 3,000 miles he found his vessels badly in need of repair and reprovisioning. But the subsequent efforts of d'Estaing, in conjunction with his countryman—Rochambeau—before Savannah, where the brave Pulaski and Sergeant Jasper fell, proved his qualifications to command a fleet in the service of the Colonies, as well as his loyalty to Washington and the Congress.

But to return to Jones: On the 16th of January, 1778, he received his orders from the Commissioners, which were as follows:

PARIS, January 16, 1778.

Captain Jones:

SIR—As it is not in our power to procure you such a ship as you expected, we advise you, after equipping the Ranger in the best possible manner for the cruise you propose, that you proceed with her in the manner you shall judge best for distressing the enemies of the United States, by sea or otherwise, consistent with the laws of war and the terms of your commission.

(Directions here follow for sending prizes taken on the coasts of France and Spain into Bilboa or Coronge, unless the danger was too great, in which case they were to be sent to L'Orient or Bordeaux.)

If you make an attempt on the coast of Great Britain we advise you not to return *immediately* into the ports of France, unless forced by stress of weather, or the pursuit of the enemy; and in such case you can make the proper representation to the officers of the port and acquaint us with your situation. We rely on your ability as well as your zeal to serve the United States, and therefore do not give you particular instructions as to your operations. We must caution you against giving any cause of complaint to the subjects of France or Spain, or of other neutral powers; and recommend it to you to show them every proper mark of respect and real civility which may be in your power.

These orders were such as proved the most agreeable to him; unlimited orders and a separate command were what he desired most and was all that he asked. The granting of his request, even to the minutest detail, naturally pleased him, for it implied full confidence in his zeal and ability. The only caution he received was not to return immediately to the ports of France after making an attack on the coast of Great Britain, for the French court wished to delay open hostilities a little longer, when it would be in a position to defend any stand the King might take in aiding or abetting the Americans.

The Ranger being in readiness before the Commissioners had completed negotiations in the purchase and transfer of a suitable command for Jones, the latter left immediately for Nantes, where arrangements had been completed for provisioning the ship for a three months' cruise. As soon as everything was in readi-

ness the Ranger weighed anchor for L'Orient, touching at Quiberon, two French ports in the Department of Morbihan and Province of Brittany. Here he displayed considerable professional etiquette, characteristic of his firmness, in compelling a French Admiral to salute the American flag, the first it ever received, for up to this time no warship had ever met the flag in American waters, and since the Ranger was the first vessel flying the Stars and Stripes to visit European waters, it follows that the honor of being the first foreign representative to recognize the flag of freedom is accorded to Monsieur La Motte Picquet, commander of a French squadron stationed at Nantes. The second recognition also came from a French Admiral—Count d'Orvilliers, commander-in-chief of the fleet lying at Brest. In this connection it should be remembered that Paul Jones was the first to hoist the flags of America, "The Rattlesnake," "The Pine Tree" and "The Stars and Stripes," on the waters of two continents—first on the Delaware, second before Portsmouth, and now in the harbor of Nantes, France. We can readily see, therefore, the reason for his insistence on the emblem of his country being saluted, even by an admiral commanding a fleet of vessels belonging to a friendly power.

At first Admiral Picquet refused to respond to the salute that came from the Ranger, and from whose mizzen-gaff the Stars and Stripes floated proudly on the breezes, but by dexterous maneuvers Jones finally succeeded in getting the full recognition that he felt that he, his ship and his country deserved. The following

letter, addressed to William Carmichael, Esquire, the French Minister at Madrid, fully explains Captain Jones' feelings upon this matter, containing, as it does, a good example of the determination of the founder of our navy to leave behind him a record on which future generations might look with pride and satisfaction:

BREST, February 14, 1778.

DEAR SIR—I am extremely sorry to give you fresh trouble, but I think the Admiral's answer of yesterday requires explanation. The haughty English return gun for gun to foreign officers of equal rank, and two less only to captains by flag officers. It is true, my command at present is not important, yet, as senior American officer at present in Europe, it is my duty to claim an equal return of respect to the flag of the United States that would be shown to any other flag whatever.

I therefore take the liberty of inclosing an appointment, perhaps as respectable as any which the French Admiral can produce, besides which I have others in my possession.

If, however, he persists in refusing to return an equal salute, I will accept of two guns less, as I have not the rank of Admiral.

It is my opinion that he would return four less to a privateer or a merchant ship, therefore, as I have been honored oftener than once with a chief command of ships of war, I cannot in honor accept of the same terms of respect.



JOHN JAY.

You will singularly oblige me by waiting upon the Admiral, and I ardently hope you will succeed in the application, else I shall be under a necessity of departing without coming into the bay. I have the honor to be yours, etc., JOHN PAUL JONES.

N. B.—Though thirteen guns is our greatest salute in America, yet if the French Admiral should prefer a greater number he has his choice, on condition.

Captain Jones was naturally very proud of having obtained triumphant recognition of the American flag. In a letter to the American Marine Committee Jones relates in detail the circumstances attending the first salute the Stars and Stripes ever received. "I am happy," he says, "in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag recognized in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France."

On the 10th of April Captain Jones sailed from Brest in the Ranger for the purpose of firing the shipping along the English coast, capturing all manner of sailing craft and manning the largest to join his expedition and sinking the smaller. It seemed, however, as though his purpose was to be balked by continuous gales, for day after day the Ranger battled against equinoctial storms that piled the waves mountain high, until it seemed as though the staunch bark could never outride the shifting seas. At times the vessel was balanced on the very pinnacle of a mountain wave, and the next moment it would sink between great green walls of water with tumultuous roaring of the heavy seas about her. At last, after days of battling with

the elements, the storm abated. Immediately Captain Jones gave orders to put the ship in fighting order, as the storms had driven them almost within sight of the English coast. That night they took a brigantine between the Isle of Sicily and Cape Clear, which had on board a cargo of flaxseed, bound from Ostend to Belfast. After sinking the brig and impressing her crew, the Ranger proceeded northward into St. George's Channel. On the 17th Captain Jones captured the ship Lord Chatham, from London with a cargo of porter and a variety of merchandise for Dublin and Cork merchants. This vessel being of equal capacity with the Ranger, Jones manned her by dividing his crew equally between the two ships and impressing about half of his prisoners to make up the ship's complement, while the rest were kept in confinement.

On the 19th he destroyed a Scotch coasting schooner off the Mull of Galloway, about three leagues from his native Arbigland. When he set out from France he was bent on destroying the shipping and all craft lying in the harbor of Whitehaven, where but eighteen years before he had gone, at the age of twelve years, as an apprentice to Mr. Younger, the largest ship-owner on the Solway. But Mr. Younger having failed in business, and dying the year before, Jones felt no delicacy in attempting the complete destruction of the city and its shipping—in fact, everything that would perish before the torch. Continuing his destructive cruise around the Isle of Man and before Carrickfergus, in the north of Ireland, he destroyed more than a dozen small craft and a richly laden brig near the Rock of

Ailsa. By the 21st he found himself within sight of Whitehaven, the scene of his apprenticeship, where, as a youth, he had secretly resolved to do exactly what he now was about to attempt. The Irish sea is quite narrow at this point; a commanding view revealed to Jones the coasts of England, Ireland and Scotland, and the records in his journal show that on the 22d the three kingdoms were covered with snow as far as the eye could see, while the Isle of Man, lying between, looked like a huge frosted cake, anchored midway in a sea of rare beauty, rich with the memory of many a sea ballad of feudal days.

Without stopping to consider the risk he was taking, for he knew every inch of the territory on both sides of the Solway, he gave orders to transfer all prisoners to the Lord Chatham, which was to lie out in the harbor to await the return of the Ranger. In his journal Jones writes that he had no trouble in effecting a landing, no one suspecting that the strange looking craft approaching was a Yankee warship, for it was an entirely new experience for any English port to be visited by a warship belonging to a foreign power. For many centuries no nation had had the temerity to fight England on her own soil or in ships of war in adjacent waters. England's navy was thought to be invincible and her coasts impregnable to the puny armament possessed by any foreign foe. All England reposed in the assurance that she was safe at home, even if her arms were not always victorious abroad.

Jones' presence, therefore, or that of any other British foeman, was wholly unlooked for, and no precau-

tion had been taken to protect life and property at home while her troops and ships of war were in America on a mission of plunder and murder, applying the torch where starvation and slaughter had left the dwellings tenantless. Before the sentinels on shore were aware of what was happening they were prisoners, securely locked in the guard-house of the old fortress at Whitehaven. Without a moment's delay all the cannon were spiked, and Jones, accompanied by Lieutenant Green, ran to the southern fort, a quarter of a mile distant from where they landed, and spiked the remaining cannon. When they returned to the place of landing Jones was surprised to find that his orders to fire the shipping had not been complied with. This task had been delegated to a Mr. Hill and Lieutenant Wallingsford, who had returned to the Ranger as soon as Jones started for the lower fort.

Jones was naturally very much chagrined at this failure to have had his orders complied with, but, not wishing to have his long cherished plans end in failure, almost single-handed he proceeded to fire a large vessel lying beside the fort. He procured a barrel of tar and poured it down the hatchway and over the decks, applying the torch at the same time. A strong wind was blowing landward, and he had strong hopes that the elements would assist him in spreading alarm and destruction in all the shipping along the Solway. He then stationed himself, with a pistol in each hand, so as to prevent the fire from being extinguished by the enraged citizens, and when the fire had gained great headway he returned in an open boat to the Ranger to

watch the work of destruction beyond the range of musketry from the shore.

Speaking of the attempt to destroy the city of Whitehaven and her shipping, Jones says in his journal: "Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner success would have been complete; not a single ship out of more than two hundred could possibly have escaped. What was done, however, is sufficient to show that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts, and that the scenes of distress which they have occasioned in America may soon be brought home to their own doors. One of my people (David Smith) was missing, and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemy's hands after our departure. I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor wounded. I brought off three prisoners as a sample."

At about noon, April 23, the Ranger landed at St. Mary's Isle, on the south coast of Scotland. A small boat with twelve men, including Captain Jones, put off from the Ranger to effect the capture of Lord Selkirk, who was much in favor with the King. Jones reasoned that the King would give every American prisoner then in English prisons in exchange for Lord Selkirk, so valuable were his services held as a member of Parliament. We can imagine Jones' disappointment when a thorough search of the island estate failed to find its proprietor. Although cautioned by Jones not to disturb the estate or any other member of Selkirk's household, the men could not resist the temptation to carry off a few trophies in the shape of valuable family plate. Captain Jones remained near the boat and did not go

with the men to search for Lord Selkirk, and his letter to Lady Selkirk shows that while he had no hand in the plunder, he was not unaware that his orders had been disobeyed, and that much valuable property was carried away in the Ranger, of which he was Captain. It is concerning this descent upon St. Mary's Isle that brought forth the following famous letter to the Countess of Selkirk:

RANGER, BREST, 8th May, 1778.

MADAME—It cannot be too much lamented that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feelings and real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe where he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such acts by his authority.

The hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with the King, and esteeming, as I do, his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for you, madame, that he was from home, for it was my intention to have taken him, until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected. When I was informed by some men whom I met at the landing that his Lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. * * *

Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot insure happiness, I am content. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began I had at an early time of life withdrawn from the sea-service in favor of "calm contemplation and poetic ease." I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among mankind.

As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, madame, to use your persuasive art with your husband to endeavor to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain can never succeed.

Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practice of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it, and who can resist the power of such an advocate?), your endeavors to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity which will afford you golden feelings on a deathbed.

I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed, but

should it be continued, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do anything, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

The honor of a line from your hand in answer to this will lay me under a singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

I wish to know exactly the behavior of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they exceeded their liberty. I have the honor to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, madame, your obedient and humble servant, JOHN PAUL JONES.

To the Countess of Selkirk, St. Mary's Isle.

On the morning of the 24th the Ranger and the British ship-of-war Drake engaged in a terrific battle off Carrickfergus, Ireland. When the Drake came out from shore she was accompanied by five small vessels full of people, who were led by curiosity to see an engagement, and, as they thought, the capture of some North Sea robber. But when they saw the Drake at the Ranger's stern they hastened to places of safety. As soon as the former recognized her antagonist as a ship-of-war belonging to the American Navy she hoisted the English colors, and at the same moment Jones ordered up the Stars and Stripes. Running close to the Ranger, the deck officer called for the name of the

"stranger," to which Jones replied through the master: "This is the American Continental ship Ranger. We are waiting for you—come out!" The action was hot, close and obstinate, and lasted just one hour and four minutes, when the Drake struck her colors, but not until her rigging had been completely carried away and her crew disabled. Captain Jones lost but three killed and three wounded, the former being Lieutenant Wallingsford, John Dougall and Nathaniel Wills. The British lost in killed and wounded forty-two men, including her captain and first lieutenant.

The Ranger was badly damaged in its engagement with the Drake, but not enough to require overhauling. The distance to the nearest friendly port was too great, and Jones was unwilling to return to France until he had accomplished a more signal victory than the capture of one small vessel, which he was compelled to carry in tow. Repairs were hastily made on board, while the Ranger was prowling around looking for trouble from any source, such as sinking merchantmen, overhauling brigs, burning shipping and engaging ships-of-war belonging to the enemy, nothing being deemed too hazardous for Jones to attempt.

The number of prisoners confined in the hold of the little fleet of three vessels—the Ranger, the Lord Chatham and the Drake—already exceeded the number comprising the Ranger's original crew. Jones was naturally very much concerned in the safe delivery of these prisoners in France, for he realized that the hundred or two prisoners he had meant the release of an equal number of Americans undergoing inhuman treatment

in English prisons, guarded by such keepers as Cunningham, the notorious British provost-marshal, whose fiendish treatment of Nathan Hale and other prisoners in New York and Philadelphia finally brought him to the gallows.

After cruising for several days in the vicinity of the Isle of Man, Jones decided to return to Brest to dispose of his prisoners and the two prize ships, the Drake and the Lord Chatham. Instead of returning as he had come, by way of St. George's Channel and the Irish Sea, he went north to Belfast and Carrickfergus, rounded the northern end of Ireland and down the west coast. At Belfast some Irish prisoners taken from a brig captured near the Rock of Ailse April 25 were, on the morning of the 21st, released, being sent ashore in a good boat and supplied with sufficient money to carry them to their homes near Dublin. After leaving Belfast the Ranger met with but one encounter of any importance, for the route led far out into the Atlantic, until they came in sight of Cape Clear, when they steered straight for the coast of France. Twenty-eight days after leaving Brest the Ranger returned with 176 prisoners and two magnificent prizes. Jones' loss consisted of three killed, three wounded and one (Green) left behind at Whitehaven, who afterward proved to be a spy and a deserter. In addition to the prisoners and prizes the cannon and ammunition were sufficient to equip a small ship, which, together with provisions captured from some dozen or more brigs, encouraged Jones to make a second attempt on Whitehaven, or, perhaps, a descent on Leith, Cardiff or even

Liverpool, if Franklin's judgment was not against further attempts of this kind.

England was now on the very eve of declaring war against France. The plenipotentiaries of the United States had been publicly received at Versailles during Jones' cruise along the English coast. The treaty between France and America had just been signed. The French Ambassador at London had been ordered to leave, and by the decisive engagement between the Arethusa and La Belle Poule the first blow between England and France had been struck. The most active preparations were going on throughout the whole of the three kingdoms. All winter and spring, in anticipation of a war with France, volunteer corps, defensible bands and regiments had been organizing, and the navy hastily augmented, until several hundred vessels were in a fairly seaworthy condition.

The first leisure Captain Jones had upon reaching Brest was occupied in writing to the Countess of Selkirk. This letter concerning the descent of the Ranger upon St. Mary's Isle, when the estate was plundered, and much valuable plate and some provisions were carried off, has been made the subject of much comment, and shows the romantic side of the life of Paul Jones. It represents the character of the writer in a new and certainly not unpleasant light. Not all of the letter has been given, but enough, however, to show the admirable character of Jones, even if the style or the appropriateness be questioned. Had the same generous spirit of hostility been displayed throughout Great Britain and the Colonies, how much misery, wantonly

inflicted, might have been averted! How much of that bitterness of feeling engendered between these countries, having in common so many powerful bonds of alliance, might have been prevented!

How often, it may be asked, does the romance of real life exist till the age of thirty? In this historic letter to the Countess of Selkirk, awakened and softened by the scenes of his boyhood, under circumstances so extraordinary, he was less at home in addressing high-born dames than in drawing up memorials to Congress. Dr. Franklin, to whom the epistle was inclosed, says in a note to Jones: "It is a gallant letter, which must give her Ladyship a high and just opinion of your generosity and nobleness of mind." Lord Selkirk wrote a letter in reply to that addressed by Captain Jones to the Countess, intimating that he would accept the return of his plate if made by order of Congress, but would not if it came only through individual generosity. But, owing to Jones' absence in America, this letter did not reach him until 1784, or more than four years after it was mailed from Dumfries, Scotland. In the meantime the plate had been repurchased by Jones and lodged with Gourlade & Moylan, bankers, at Paris, where it was held subject to the order of Lord Selkirk.

In a letter "To Monsieur Le Chevalier Paul Jones," at Paris, dated London, August 4, 1789, Lord Selkirk not only exonerates Jones from all responsibility in the loss of his plate, but took the trouble to cause advertisements to be published in all of the leading papers in England and Scotland that Jones was in no way blameworthy or censurable, and that everything that

was done at his estate was done with the consent of his own servants. He closes his testimony to Jones by subscribing himself, "I am, sir, your most humble servant, Selkirk."

CHAPTER VI.

IN COMMAND OF THE BON HOMME RICHARD.

Shortly after Captain Jones reached Brest he received a letter from Franklin congratulating him on his late successes along the English and Scottish coasts, and in the same letter he proposed another expedition. "The Jersey privateers," he said, "do us a great deal of mischief by intercepting our supplies. It has been mentioned to me that your small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service by following them where greater ships dare not venture, or being accompanied and supported by some frigates from Brest, at a proper distance, might draw them out and take them. I wish you to consider this, as it comes from high authority."

In replying to Franklin's letter Captain Jones could not be expected to refrain altogether from commenting on the use to which he and his vessel were to be put. A decoy of the French frigate, with no prospect of a separate command, did not appeal strongly to Jones' sense of honor. "Nothing could give me more pleasure," writes Jones in reply, "than to render essential service to America in any way you may find expedient. I demand nothing, and though I know it was the intention of Congress to give me that ship that is

now building at Amsterdam, I am now ready to go wherever the service calls me. If two or three fast-sailing ships could be gotten together, there is a great choice of private enterprises that I can name, some of which might effectually succeed, and would be far more for the interest and honor of America than cruising with twice the force. It appears to me to be the province of our infant navy to surprise and spread alarms with fast-sailing ships. When we grow stronger we can meet their (the British) fleets and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean."

The following letter from Franklin, written as a private epistle, offered such dazzling prospects that the plans suggested by Captain Jones were for the time being forgotten. Captain Jones was a man of quick impulse, and though he acted on first impressions he seldom suffered any costly reverses. What at first promised much often proved a source of trouble and vexation, and nowhere has it appeared more than when he was given command of the Epervier:

(Private.)

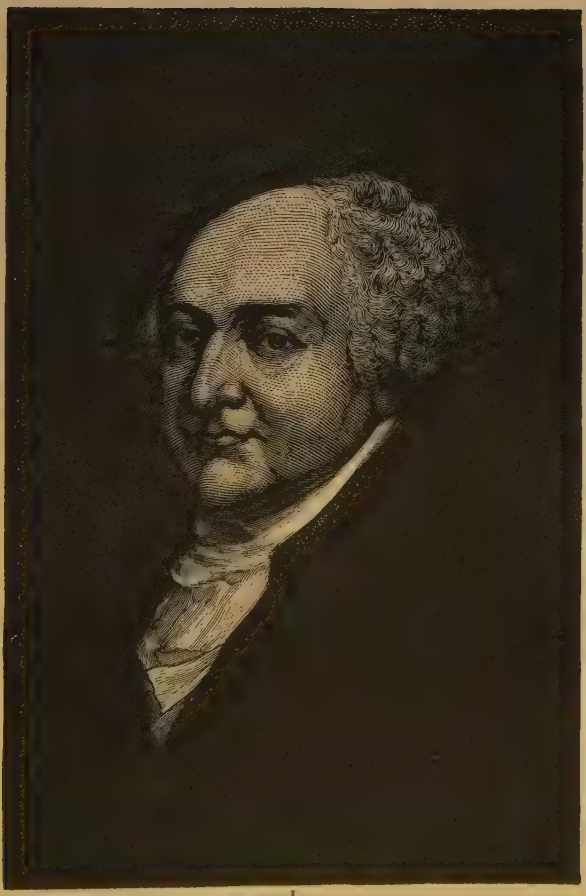
Captain John Paul Jones:

Dear Sir—I have the pleasure of informing you that it is proposed to give you the command of the great ship we have built at Amsterdam. By what you wrote us formerly, I have ventured to say in your behalf that this proposition would be agreeable to you. You will immediately let me know your resolution, which, you may be more clear in taking, I must inform you of some circumstances. She is at present the

property of the King, but as there is no war yet declared, you will have the commission and flag of the States and act under their orders and laws. The Prince of Nassau will make the cruise with you. She is to be brought here under French cover as a French merchantman, to be equipped and manned in France. We hope to exchange your prisoners for as many American sailors, but if that fails, you have your present crew, to be made up here with other nations and French. The other Commissioners are not acquainted with this proposition as yet, and you see by the nature of it that it is necessary to be kept a secret here, for fear of difficulties in Holland and interception. You will therefore direct your letter to me alone. It being desired that the affair should rest between you and me, perhaps it may be best for you to take a trip up here to consult matters, if in general you approve the idea. I was much pleased with reading your journal, which we received yesterday.

I am ever, dear sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

The correspondence between Jones and Franklin showed an intimate friendship, and must have resulted from the latter's confidence in Jones' seamanship and his faith in his display of patriotism. The frequency with which Franklin wrote Jones in private, offering plans for various expeditions along the English coast, is evidence that the latter's mission to Europe was deemed by the Commissioners of supreme importance, if not positively essential to the success of the Colonies. In



JOHN ADAMS.

the receipt of this last letter from Franklin Jones must have been exceedingly gratified, for it conveyed to him the information that his long-cherished ambition for "a separate command with unlimited orders" had at last been granted, and he believed the summit of his naval career and the climax of the war would be reached when, in his new command, he met the British fleets, no matter what might be their strength.

On the 6th of February, 1778, the treaty of commerce and defensible alliance which ultimately secured the independence of the United States was signed in Paris, and a few days thereafter Franklin was appointed Ambassador to France. Within a few weeks the British Minister to France was recalled, which was understood to be a declaration of war. As the guardian of American interests in Europe, Franklin's appointment must have pleased Captain Jones greatly, for no man in Europe, save Silas Deane and Henry Lee, possessed his confidence more than Paul Jones. For more than a year Deane and Lee had met daily with Franklin to devise means of procuring aid, financial as well as in transporting men and equipments across the Atlantic to reinforce the Colonists, struggling desperately for their rights as men and immunity from unjust laws. In their daily associations the three men formed a friendship that lasted until each went to his grave.

In a note to the French Minister of Marine, M. de Sartin, who had placed Jones in favor with the King, he says: "I am bound in honor to communicate faithfully to Congress the generous offer which the King now makes, of lending the Epervier, in the meantime

to be employed under my command and under the flag of America. I have now under my command a ship bound to America. On my arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress, I have reason to expect an immediate removal into one of their best ships. I have reason to expect also the chief command of the first squadron destined for an expedition, having in my possession several similar appointments, and when Congress sees fit to appoint admirals, I have assurance that my name will not be forgot. But as I prefer a solid to a shining reputation, a useful to a splendid command, I hold myself ready, with the approbation of the Commissioners, to be governed by you in any measures that may tend to distress and humble the common enemy."

It must be admitted that in all his public career Captain Jones never lacked the courage to express his convictions, whether in defense of his own course or the apparent incompetency of others. Whether he sought to forward his own interests or those of the Colonies in his frequent reference to rebuffs and neglect, we should be charitable in our estimate of the man, for his subsequent acts proved his unbounded loyalty to the States of America and its flag, on which the sun never sets.

The prospect of immediate active service and with a much larger force than he had ever commanded appeared very encouraging in July, but toward the end of August his hopes again began to fade, and he cast about to ascertain the cause of this unmerited neglect. September came, and with it redoubled effort on the

part of the English to suppress the growing sentiment in France, not only for giving aid to the Americans, but also to check the spirit of invasion which threatened to assume such proportions as to force her to fortify not only her coast cities, but the interior towns as well.

France was little better prepared for war with England than were the Colonies, and the few seaworthy vessels comprising the French navy were commanded by French officers and manned by Frenchmen, even to the last of the boatswains. There seemed to be no disposition on the part of the ministry to provide for Captain Jones or anyone else not already employed in the service of the King. While Jones would spurn an offer to command a ship from whose mast he would be compelled to fly the flag of France, he likewise would refuse a command where the Congress of the United States was not the sole arbiter of his conduct, and to whom alone he would be responsible. While his seamanship and extraordinary courage were everywhere recognized, the King was obliged to provide commands for his own officers, many of whom were then in comparative idleness. Though the large vessel nearing completion at Amsterdam was primarily intended for America, for reasons known only to Franklin and the ministry, its construction was delayed by orders received from the King's Minister of Marine, M. de Sartin.

On the 13th of September Captain Jones again wrote de Sartin a lengthy letter, in which he deplored the Minister's lack of faith, and pointed out at great length the many discourtesies and neglect that had been

shown him during his enforced idleness from May till September. He took the precaution to show the letter to the Duc de Rochefoucault, after which he forwarded it to Franklin, with the request to hand it to the Minister. To Franklin, Jones inclosed the following note, in which he asks him to intercede in his behalf and secure, if possible, some explanation for the humiliating attitude in which he was placed before his crew: "It is vain," he writes, "for the Minister to pretend that he has not ships to bestow. I know the contrary. He has bestowed the Renommee and others here since my return to Brest, and there are yet several new ships unbestowed at St. Malo and elsewhere. I know, too, that unless the States of Holland oppose it the Indian can be got afloat with a tenth part of the difficulty that has been represented. If I was worth his notice at the beginning, I am not less so now. After all, you have desired me to have patience, and I promise you that I will wait your kind advice and take no ship without your approbation. If it was consistent and convenient for you to see M. de Sartin I should hope that such an explanation would be the consequence as might remove every cause of uneasiness."

Day after day Jones continued to write Franklin, urging his intervention and suggesting many vessels that might be given him to command. Gradually, as his hopes decreased, Jones lowered his demands and spoke less freely concerning his plans of harassing the enemy. Many letters, however, passed between him and de Sartin, and as often did he write the Duc de Rochefoucault and M. Le Roy de Chaumont, the latter being

a former member of the French Cabinet. In a letter to M. Le Roy he says: "I have already lost near five months of my time, the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honor as I cannot again expect this war, while I have been thus shamefully entrapped in inaction, my duty and sensibility cannot brook this unworthy situation."

After another anxious period of suspense Jones, worn out with waiting, "half killed," as he strongly expressed himself, addressed a long letter to the King. The delivery of this letter he intrusted to the Duchess de Chartres, and with a personal appeal to the Duc de la Rochefoucault to be present to interpret his meaning should the King not be able to understand the spirit of his appeal. The letter was first sent to Franklin for his perusal, after which it was his wish, he said, that it be handed to the Duchess for delivery:

LETTER TO THE KING.

BREST, October 19, 1778.

SIRE:

After my return to Brest in the American ship of war the Ranger, from the Irish Channel, his Excellency Dr. Franklin informed me by letter, dated June 1, that M. de Sartin, having a high opinion of my conduct and bravery, had determined, with your Majesty's consent and approbation, to give me the command of the ship of war the Indian, which was built at Amsterdam for America, but afterwards, for political reasons, made the property of France.

I was to act with unlimited orders under the commission and flag of America, and the Prince de Nassau proposed to accompany me on the ocean.

I was deeply penetrated with the sense of the honor done me by this generous proposition, as well as of the favor your Majesty intended thereby to confer on America. And I accepted the offer with the greater pleasure, as the Congress had sent me to Europe in the Ranger, to command the Indian, before the ownership of that vessel was changed.

The minister desired to see me at Versailles to settle future plans of operation, and I attended him for that purpose. I was told that the Indian was at the Texel completely armed and fitted for sea; but the Prince de Nassau was sent express to Holland, and returned with a very different account. The ship was at Amsterdam and could not be got afloat or armed before the September equinox. The American plenipotentiaries proposed that I should return to America, and as I have repeatedly been appointed to the chief command of an American squadron to execute secret enterprises, it was not doubted but that Congress would again show me a preference. M. de Sartin, however, thought proper to prevent my departure by writing to the plenipotentiaries (without my knowledge), requesting that I might be permitted to remain in Europe, and that the Ranger might be sent back to America under another commander, he having special services which he wished me to execute. This request they readily granted, and I was flattered by the prospect of being enabled to testify, by my services, my gratitude to your Majesty, as

the first prince who has so generously acknowledged our independence.

There was an interval of more than three months before the Indian could be gotten afloat. To employ that period usefully, when your Majesty's fleet was ordered to sail from Brest, I proposed to the Minister to embark in it as a volunteer, in pursuit of marine knowledge. He objected to this; at the same time approved of a variety of hints for private enterprises which I had drawn up for his consideration. Two gentlemen were appointed to settle with me the plans that were to be adopted, who gave me the assurance that three of the best frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper; but this fell to nothing, when I believed that your Majesty's signature only was wanting.

Another armament, composed of cutters and small vessels, at L'Orient, was proposed to be put under my command, to alarm the coast of England and check the Jersey privateers, but, happily for me, this also failed, and I was saved from ruin and dishonor, as I now find that all the vessels sailed slow, and their united force is very insignificant. The Minister then thought fit that I should return to Brest to command the Lively and join some frigates on an expedition from St. Malo to the North Sea. I returned in haste for that purpose, and found that the Lively had been bestowed at Brest before the Minister had mentioned that ship to me at Versailles. This was, however, another fortunate disappointment, as the Lively proves, both

in sailing and equipment, much inferior to the Ranger; but, more especially, if it be true, as I have since understood, that the Minister intended to give the chief command of the expedition to a lieutenant, which would have occasioned a very disagreeable misunderstanding, for, as an officer of the first rank in the American marine, who has ever been honored with the favor and friendship of Congress, I can receive orders from no inferior officer whatever. My plan was the destruction of the English Baltic fleet, of great consequence to the enemy's marine, and then only protected by a single frigate! I would have held myself responsible for its success had I commanded the expedition.

M. de Sartin afterwards sent orders to Count D'Orvilliers to receive me on board the fleet, agreeably to my former proposal; but the order did not arrive until after the departure of the fleet the last time from Brest, nor was I made acquainted with the circumstances before the fleet returned here.

Thus have I been chained down to shameful inactivity for nearly five months. I have lost the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honor as I cannot again expect this war; and, to my infinite mortification, having no command, I am considered everywhere an officer cast off and in disgrace for secret reasons.

I have written respectful letters to the Minister, none of which he has condescended to answer; I have written to the Prince de Nassau with as little effect; and I do not understand that any apology has been made to the great and venerable Dr. Franklin, whom the Minister

has made the instrument of bringing me into such unmerited trouble.

Having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America, my sensibility is the more affected by this unworthy situation in the sight of your Majesty's fleet. I, however, make no remark on the treatment I have received.

Although I wish not to become my own panegyrist, I must beg your Majesty's permission to observe that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which, thank God, I have a sufficiency.

When the American banner was first displayed, I drew my sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature, and both honor and duty prompt me steadfastly to continue the righteous pursuit, and to sacrifice to it, not only my private enjoyments, but even life, if necessary. I must acknowledge that the generous praise which I have received from Congress and others exceeds the merit of my past services; therefore I the more ardently wish for future opportunities of testifying my gratitude by my activity.

As your Majesty, by espousing the cause of America, hath become the protector of the rights of human nature, I am persuaded that you will not disregard my situation, nor suffer me to remain any longer in this insupportable disgrace.

I am, with perfect gratitude and profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's very obliged, very obedient and very humble servant,

J. Paul Jones.

There is no satisfactory evidence that the letter was ever presented to the King. No allusion whatever is made to the impression it made on him in his journal or correspondence, and the early biographers of Captain Jones declare that if the letter was delivered it was in opposition to Franklin's wishes, and it is certain that Jones did nothing contrary to Franklin's judgment for fear of jeopardizing the good opinion the latter had for him. For this reason it is commonly believed that the letter was returned to the Duchess and by her destroyed.

Mr. Temple Franklin, the grandson of Benjamin Franklin and secretary of the Commissioners to France, fully sympathized with his compatriot in arms, as did the Commissioners, but diplomacy demanded silence on their part, while all the appointments in the navy were being given to French officers.

On the 22d of October young Franklin wrote Jones at length, setting forth the reasons why the Commissioners did not intercede in his behalf, and counseled patience, as his grandfather had done on many previous occasions. The letter was not sent until the 24th. On that date Franklin concluded his letter with a postscript, in which he says: "Since writing the above I have received yours of the 19th (the letter to the King). I would willingly do everything you there desire of me, but it is my grandfather's opinion that there will be no occasion to send those letters; and I imagine they were written before you heard of the Minister's final determination. If, however, you still think they ought to be sent, you have only to order it." Doubtless the time

intervening between the writing of the letter and the postscript was spent in correspondence or in consultation with de Sartin, and the mailing of the letter was delayed by Franklin in order to ascertain the Minister's intentions with respect to Jones. Fortunately, however, the appointment had been made several days before, but the commission had not reached Jones at the time he sent the letter to Franklin intended for the King.

In a letter to Chaumont, dated November 30, a month after his appointment, in speaking of de Sartin, Jones says: "My best respects and most grateful thanks await the Minister for the very honorable thing said of me to the Duc de la Rochefoucault. It shall be my ambition, when he gives me opportunity, to merit his favor and affection." Had Jones then known of the disappointments yet in store for him he would not have been so hasty in expressing his gratitude to the Minister for the prospects of an immediate command, but to follow the long train of vexatious delays and intentional slights and petty disappointments that this courageous man was yet to encounter before he was again in active service would only prolong the reader's suspense in following the career of this heroic character. Several times during the ten months of his enforced idleness at Brest he was offered the command of privateers, but as often did he decline, for the commission he held from Congress was that of a captaincy in the American Navy, and his sensibility would not permit him to associate the command of a squadron flying the American colors with that of privateering

in French vessels responsible only to the King. It must not be forgotten that Jones had received nothing for his services since entering the navy, and it is well known that had he followed the King's wishes in privateering against the English he would have been able in a short time to retire with an ample fortune.

In one of his letters to de Sartin he says in reference to his entering the privateer service: "Were I in pursuit of profit I would accept it without hesitation, but I am under such obligations to Congress that I cannot think myself my own master, and as a servant of the Imperial Republic of America, honored with the public approbation for my past services, I cannot, from my own authority or inclination, serve either myself or even my best friends, in any private line whatever."

Thus the winter of '78 passed, and aside from the trip to Paris, Versailles and Passy, Captain Jones employed his time in correspondence and in making such entries in his journal as he wished to submit to the Congress upon his return to America. He did not, however, lose faith in Franklin, but he was beginning to chafe under his long enforced idleness, when he knew there was so much to be done if the Colonies were ever to be free.

At last the day came when a command was offered him that his judgment approved, and he chose the Duc de Duras, lying at L'Orient, in preference to the Marshal de Broglio, then at Passy, for he was unable to man the latter vessel, owing to the loss of all but three of his men, who left the service during his long idleness at Brest. Captain Jones obtained permission to

change the name of the Duc de Duras to "Poor Richard," or, translated into French, "Bon Homme Richard," in compliment to a saying of Franklin: "If you would have your business done faithfully and expeditiously, come yourself; if not, send some one."

Jones was not long in collecting a crew; the three men at Brest were ordered to L'Orient where, with their assistance, Jones succeeded in enlisting as motley a crowd as ever sailed before the mast. Few had ever been on board a ship of war, and those who had were in the most part undisciplined and spoke only their native tongue. Every nation in Europe, and not a few from all other continents and Islands of the Seas, was represented on the muster roll of the Bon Homme Richard. There were Irish, Portuguese, Swedes, Norwegians, Scotch, Italians, French, Germans, English, Spaniards, Malays, Turks, Americans, Mexicans and one lone negro from Cuba on board the ship that was destined to win for her commander eternal fame and the distinction of being the founder of the American navy. The confusion of tongues added to the many discomfitures that yet confronted Jones, but in order to lessen the possibility of an outbreak among the crew he enlisted 135 French marines to help him maintain order. It is singular that no mutiny occurred on this floating babel and before the vessel had gotten well under way Captain Jones had this rabble of about 250 men under complete subjection.

About this time the Alliance arrived at L'Orient from America with a fairly efficient crew of American, French, Canadian, and a number of impressed British

seamen. The ship sailed from Boston early in January, 1779, and had on board the distinguished General, Marquis de LaFayette, who was returning to France after an absence in America of nearly a year. Learning of the formation of a large and formidable squadron to be commanded by Captain Jones, LaFayette expressed a desire to accompany the expedition. Jones was therefore summoned to court, where it was arranged to have LaFayette command a body of about 700 troops to be selected by the King. There were several small vessels lying in the harbor at L'Orient which were hastily put in readiness for immediate service. This little squadron was to be composed of the Pallas, the brig Vengeance, and the cutter Serf, besides the ships Alliance and Bon Homme Richard. The first three mentioned were designated as "the troop ships," for they were to carry the King's seven hundred troops under command of General LaFayette.

Altogether the armada was to be a formidable one, and its mission so all-important, and yet so hastily conceived, that secrecy was deemed of the utmost importance; where there were so many contrary forces at work the destination of the squadron soon became known all over France, and in consequence was shortly afterward abandoned "for political and military reasons" as ascribed by LaFayette; it is believed, however, that the expedition was dropped because the French ministry became infatuated with the idea of invading England, which was against the judgment of both Jones and LaFayette, whose ideas were to harass the merchant

marine on the high seas and to destroy the shipping of the coast cities of England.

While the expedition, as proposed by the ministry and approved by the Commissioners, was temporarily abandoned, yet Jones did not lose sight of the chief purpose of the greater work of spreading alarm throughout England and destroying all manner of craft belonging to the enemy. Until some of his plans could be perfected, the Bon Homme Richard was sent to convoy troops, stores and merchandise for Bordeaux along the Bay of Biscay. Captain Jones performed this trifling service within a fortnight, after which he cruised about with little aim or result for some days. Jones' greatest fear during his absence was the separation of the fleet he had collected at L'Orient. He begged Franklin to aid him in holding the squadron together until he returned from his cruise in the Bay of Biscay. He was fully determined to make another attempt on Whitehaven, Leith, or other coast cities, first exacting ransom from the municipalities in order to enable him to equip and augment "the most formidable naval force in the world." He would have under his command, he figured, a fleet sufficiently large to enforce his demands, and if not complied with he could bombard the city with the hundred or more cannon on the vessels comprising his squadron.

On the night of June 20, while the fleet lay off Rochefort, shortly after leaving L'Orient on a short cruise in the English Channel, the Alliance, manned almost wholly by American seamen, but commanded by Captain Landais, ran foul of the Bon Homme Richard.

Both vessels were so badly damaged in the collision that Captain Jones found it necessary to take them into the Roads of Groix for refitting. Landais was a very erratic Frenchman, and insanely jealous of Captain Jones' growing fame as a naval commander, and from subsequent events it was plainly evident that the collision was not by accident, but a deliberate plan on the part of Landais to have reflections cast on Jones' seamanship in order that he might become his successor in command of the European squadron.

Jones was very much aggrieved at this stupidity of Landais: he had chafed under the enforced idleness of half a year spent at Brest and Passy and later at L'Orient, and now he found himself with about 1,000 men passing six weeks in idleness at Groix while the Alliance and Bon Homme Richard were both undergoing extensive repairs. Shortly after giving full directions as to the repairs and alterations necessary, Jones informed Franklin of the accident to the vessels in his command, not forgetting to place the responsibility for the accident where it belonged. A few days thereafter Jones received a note from Franklin in which, however, no reference was made to the accident which was the chief burden of Jones' letter. It should be remembered that it was the carrying out of the provisions contained in Franklin's letter that brought about the famous engagement between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, and gave to the American navy a name and reputation that for more than a century and a quarter has had no peer. Franklin's letter is as follows:



DESCENT ON WHITEHAVEN, APRIL 22, 1778.

Passy, June 30, 1779.

Captain John Paul Jones:

Dear Sir—Being arrived at Groix, you are to make the best of your way with the vessels under your command, to the west of Ireland and establish your cruise on the Orcades, the Cape of Dernens and the Dogger Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas.

The prizes you may make send to Dunkirk, Ostend or Bergen, in Norway, according to your proximity to either of those ports. Address them to the persons M. de Chaumont shall indicate to you.

About the 15th of August, when you will have sufficiently cruised in these seas, you are to make route for the Texel, where you will meet my further orders.

If, by any personal accident, you should be rendered unable to execute these instructions, the officer of your squadron next in rank is to endeavor to put them in execution.

With best wishes for your prosperity, I am, ever, dear sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant.

B. Franklin.

The Honorable Captain Jones:

N. B.—If it should fall in your way, remember that the Hudson's Bay ships are very valuable. B. F.

At the time Jones wrote Franklin informing him of the disabling of both the Bon Homme Richard and the Alliance, he took occasion to again refer to the ship then building at Amsterdam. "If the court," wrote Jones, "is yet disposed to give me the ship which they

at first offered, I think it possible in the present situation of my affairs to make a useful and honorable cruise that way, with the force now under my command, and afterwards to bring that ship out with the crew I now have."

Franklin replied to this: "I have no other orders to give; for as the court is at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct. I observe what you write about a change of the destination; but when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council, they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and there is not now time to obtain a reconsideration." Franklin hinted, however, that the intention of ordering the cruise to finish at the Texel was with a view of getting out the Indian; but this he said should be kept a secret.

CHAPTER VII.

OPERATIONS ON THE BRITISH COAST.

At daybreak on the 14th of August, 1779, the little squadron comprising the five vessels, mentioned in the enterprise fitted out at L'Orient, but now increased to seven vessels by the addition of the Monsieur and the Grandville, weighed anchor in the harbor of Groix. The addition of the last two, each with their 40 and 14 guns respectively, gave the squadron of seven vessels a total of 194 guns. The Bon Homme Richard had been remanned with about 90 American seamen who had been brought to France from England and exchanged for a like number of British prisoners captured by Jones off Carrickfergus and Whitehaven. The seven vessels that now comprised the fleet under command of Captain Jones was a most formidable one, "a force," said Jones, "which might have effected great service and done infinite injury to the enemy, had there been secrecy and due subordination; but unfortunately there was neither."

From the middle of August till the middle of September this small fleet cruised in the English and St. George's Channels, the Irish and North Seas. The weather continued stormy from the 1st to the 13th of September, and Jones kept the fleet well within sight

of the coasts of Scotland and Ireland where they could seek shelter within an hour should the stress of weather require it. Before the middle of September the little squadron had been reduced more than one half in number; only the Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas and the Vengeance continued under the command of Captain Jones. Landais succeeded in inducing the Captains of the Monsieur the Grandville and the Serf to join the Alliance in a separate cruise; but this wholesale desertion did not dishearten Jones; on the contrary it gave him renewed courage, and redoubled his ambition to perform greater and more signal service than he had yet performed in behalf of the Colonies. He did not abandon the hope of accomplishing some marked service in British waters; his reputation was at stake, and his promise to the Marine Committee, to whom he held himself in honor bound, to give a good account of himself and that of his ship in European waters, was never lost sight of. He never forgot his obligations to the Congress, whose good opinion he valued and whose confidence he possessed to a surprising degree. He thought of Franklin the embodiment of honor, truth and nobleness of character; he thought of Deane and Lee who were giving Franklin substantial assistance, thereby enabling him to pursue his telling operations against the common enemy. His conscience was not troubled, nor his hopes blasted when he saw his once formidable squadron reduced to three vessels whose combined armament was thought no match for the least in the imperial navy.

Instead of being disappointed, Captain Jones really

felt relieved; a burden seemed lifted from his shoulders when he saw the Alliance, with her traitorous Commander and her mutinous crew, disappearing in the distance, closely followed by the selfish little French privateers that had all along been a source of annoyance and constant anxiety to the independent and ambitious Commander of the Bon Homme Richard. It should be stated that Captain Jones, with but very slight assistance from the Commander of the Alliance, had, a day or two before, captured a valuable prize-ship, the Union, mounting twenty-two guns, and loaded with sails, rigging, anchors, cables and other essential articles for the navy Great Britain was building on the St. Lawrence. Captain Jones had, however, taken the precaution to transfer all the stores to the Bon Homme Richard, not wishing to trust Landais with both the prize and her equipment. It was later discovered that the "mad Frenchman," as Landais was everywhere known, had carried off his prize together with a smaller one left in his care while the Bon Homme Richard had gone in pursuit of a Letter of Marque from Liverpool to Jamaica, a ship carrying 20 guns and a valuable cargo, for West Indian merchants. Landais steered straight for Bergen, Norway, where Franklin had instructed Jones to dispose of any prizes he might have taken when near that port. As soon as Landais reached Bergen he turned these two valuable prizes, worth about $150,000, over to the British Ambassador in consideration of the latter's promised effort to secure for him (Landais) an admiralty in the British navy. It is needless to add that nothing came of this effort of Landais to break

into the navy of Great Britain, for his despicable conduct and character were too well understood by the British Admiralty to thus jeopardize the safety of either the men or the ships of the Imperial navy.

After the separation of the fleet, Captain Jones entered the North Sea and steered in a southerly direction along the coast of Scotland. On the 15th of September the three vessels appeared in the Firth of Forth just off from the town of Leith which was the seaport of Edinburgh, scarcely more than a mile distant. Had Jones been in reality, as he was in name, the commander of the squadron, a dash would have been made on the town and Captain Jones' plan of securing a handsome ransom succeeded; but either from fear or obstinacy, the Captains of the Vengeance and Pallas refused to obey the commands that came from the Bon Homme Richard. Thus Jones was left with but a single vessel out of seven that had sailed from Brest a month before; he was determined, however, to accomplish some good before going to the Texel where he had been directed by Franklin to proceed after completing his cruise on the British coasts.

When Jones found that he must attack the city with but a single ship, he lost no time in perfecting his plans. Half a hundred troops were to be landed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel De Chamillard. The ships could be plainly seen from Edinburgh sailing up the Leith Roads, and though their character could not be distinguished, still the inhabitants were aware of Jones' presence in the East coast of Scotland, and some preparation had been made hurriedly to receive him.

Batteries were hastily erected near the shore and arms were sent from the castle at Edinburgh.

It is related that the boldness of Paul Jones so far blinded some of the spectators that on the 17th, a boat with five men came off from the coast of Fife to solicit from the commander of the incoming ships some powder and shot in the name of a great landed proprietor, who wished "to have the means of defending himself from the expected visit of the vile pirate, Paul Jones." Tradition in that part of Scotland still has it that some powder was sent with a great show of politeness, but the request for shot, however, was not complied with for very obvious reasons.

After landing the troops Colonel De Chamillard was instructed as to the method to pursue in presenting the summons to the Mayor of Leith. The demands were prepared by Jones in his customary polite style of addressing even the enemy whom he was about to attack:

The Honorable J. Paul Jones, Commander-in-chief of the American Squadron now in Europe, etc., to the Worshipful, the Provost of Leith, or, in his absence, to the Chief Magistrate who is now actually Provost and in authority there.

Sir—The British Marine force that has been stationed here for the protection of your city and commerce, being now taken by the American arms under my command, I have the honour to send you this summons by my officer, Lieutenant-Colonel De Chamillard, who commands the vanguard of my troops. I do not

wish to distress the poor inhabitants; my intention is only to demand your contribution toward the reimbursement which Britain owes the much-injured citizens of the United States,—for savages would blush at the unmanly violation and rapacity that has marked the tracks of British tyranny in America, from which neither virgin innocence nor helpless age has been a plea of protection or pity.

Leith and its port now lies at our mercy; and did not our humanity stay the hand of just retaliation, I should, without advertisement, lay it in ashes. Before I proceed to that stern duty as an officer, my duty as a man induces me to propose to you, by means of a reasonable ransom, to prevent such a scene of horror and distress. For this reason, I have authorized Colonel De Chamillard, to conclude and agree with you on the terms of ransom, allowing you exactly half an hour's reflection before you finally accept or reject the terms which he shall propose (£200,000). If you accept the terms offered within the time limited, you may rest assured that no further debarkation of the vanguard will immediately follow, and that the property of the citizens shall remain unmolested.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of due respect, sir, your very obedient and very humble servant.

PAUL JONES.

On board the American ship-of-war the Bon Homme Richard, at anchor in the Road of Leith, September the 17th, 1779.

In the journal kept by Captain Jones appears a copy

of the above summons, and appended thereto is the following postscript written presumedly the following day:

N. B.—"The sudden and violent storm which arose at the moment when the squadron was abreast Keith (Inch Keith) Island which forms the entrance to the Road of Leith, rendered impracticable the execution of the foregoing project." The gale was so severe and arose so suddenly that one of the prizes was lost and the crew only saved with difficulty, while the three ships were all more or less wrecked by the wind.

The day selected for the descent on Leith was a bright Sunday morning, a little past the middle of September. A gentle sea breeze carried the three vessels and prize along the smooth surface of the Firth toward the Leith Roads. Many of the inhabitants of Kirkaldy, a thriving town just a few miles below Leith on the coast of Fife were at church, and seeing the approach of the strange looking ships which they knew must be those belonging to the "bold pirate Paul Jones," they deserted the edifice and assembled on the beach. The pastor, a Rev. Mr. Shirra, led the congregation down to the shore where he offered the following very remarkable prayer: "Now, dear Lord, dinna ye think it a shame for ye to send this vile pirate to rob our folk o' Kirkaldy? Ye ken that they are puir enow already, and hae naething to spare. The way the wind blaus, he'll be here in a jiffy, and wha kens what he may do? He's nae too good for ony thing. Mickles the mischief he has done already. He'll burn their hooses, take their

very claes, and strip them to the very sark. And woes me, wha kens but that the bluidy villain might tak' their lives! The puir weemin are most frightened out of their wits, and the bairns screeching after them. I canna think of it! I canna think of it! I hae long been a faithful servant to ye, O Lord. But gin ye dinna turn the wind about and blow the scoundrel out of our gate, I'll nae stir a foot, but will just sit here till the tide comes. Sae tak' your will o't."

Never was a prayer more promptly answered, was the popular belief along the rocky shores of Cheviot and Fife. "I prayed, but the Lord sent the wind," was the good old man's answer when in after years he would be asked about the appearance of Paul Jones, off Leith Roads; the sudden change of the wind was all that prevented Jones from carrying out his plan of ransom on the city of Leith, but he had no design on Kirkaldy. As the ships were headed directly for the shore where the little congregation was assembled they had good cause to become frightened as the vessels bore down upon them. A stiff breeze from the land, however, arrested the progress of the fleet, and as the breeze grew apace it became a gale, and for some hours threatened not only all craft on the bay, but everything on land, as well. Several vessels anchored but a short distance from the shore sunk in the heavy seas, but the fleet that caused so much anxiety was driven far out to sea, and left the frightened inhabitants still in doubt as to the real intentions of the "bold pirate."

Before retiring altogether from the east coast of Britain, Jones could not resist the temptation of mak-

ing some demonstration notwithstanding the remonstrance that came from the Captains of the Pallas and Vengeance. Turning his attention to the coasters and colliers in the Firth not more than a league from Leith. Jones effected the capture of fourteen and destroyed nine others. All Edinburgh was aroused, and in a very short time the abortive attack was known all over the three kingdoms. The London, Edinburgh and Cork papers of September 12th, 13th, 14th, 18th and 24th contained long accounts of "the famous Paul Jones and his depredations on inhabitants of Scotland and England."

Had Jones been successful in his demands on the authorities of Leith, he would have undoubtedly repeated the performance at Hull and Newcastle, but having suffered the humiliation of witnessing the failure of one of his long conceived plans even after approaching within pistol shot of the town he had hoped to capture, he now turned his attention to the unprotected merchantmen.

It was Paul Jones' misfortune in almost every important crisis of his life, to be thwarted by base designs of ignoble rivals, or left single handed to carry out plans conceived in expectation of substantial support by officers under his command. Disobedience and insubordination seemed to prevail in almost every enterprise conceived by him. In no other service than that of America, a land still struggling for a doubtful existence as an independent state, and without either the power or the means to enforce obedience, would such insubordination as displayed on vessels commanded by Paul Jones have been tolerated. The conduct of the

agents of the French court was not above censure. If it did not actually authorize it, it certainly did not discourage mutiny on board vessels commanded by Jones. After his arrival at the Texel, Jones gave ample proof which showed that the conduct of the erratic Landais, in refusing to support him in his memorable descent on Whitehaven and the abortive attempt on Leith, not only met the approval of the agents of the French Court, but had actually been sanctioned by them.

Jones complained bitterly to Franklin of the treatment he had received from the French agents, as well as the absence of substantial support from the commanders of the six other vessels that had sailed from L'Orient and Brest under his command. Franklin expected great things from this formidable little squadron of seven vessels of varied capacities and armaments aggregating nearly 200 guns, and it was with considerable humility, though not without a loud condemnation of the conduct of his six subordinate officers, and the agents who had authorized the expedition under French Commission, that Jones made his report to the Commissioners. The report showed little good accomplished beyond spreading alarm and terror throughout England, Ireland and Scotland, and while this was a part of Jones' original plan in the formation of a European squadron, still, the capturing of prizes and their crews, the securing of ransom or the destruction of shipping was more to the liking of both Jones and Franklin, for it would not only add to the resources of the Colonies, but would necessitate the recall of a part of the English

fleet then in American waters, which was giving Rochambeau, d'Estaing and Washington considerable annoyance.

Jones' greatest ambition was to collect in one mighty squadron every available vessel that could be purchased in Europe; with such a fleet, strengthened by all vessels captured from the enemy which could be used as troop ships or as auxiliary cruisers, his squadron would be most formidable. To do this, however, would require a vast sum of money, and the most expeditious as well as the most satisfactory way to procure this much-needed substance, Jones reasoned, was to seize men of influence, men in favor with the King, who would surrender any number of American prisoners, whom Jones would in turn use to man his great fleet. This was Jones' purpose when he made the descent on St. Mary's Isle, the home of Lord Selkirk.

Jones' ambition was certainly commendable, but too chimerical for realization where he had neither support nor means to put in operation the plans that would result in effecting the formation even of the nuclus of a great navy.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAPTURE OF THE SERAPIS.

The engagement between the Bon Homme Richard, commanded by John Paul Jones, and the Serapis under Commodore Richard Pearson, is regarded as the most desperately fought battle in naval warfare. For a close and deadly hand to hand sea-combat, history, before and since the days of Paul Jones, records no parallel. The encounter took place in the North Sea just off the east coast of York (England), early in the evening of September 23rd, 1779.

When he set out from France, first in the Ranger, but afterward in the Bon Homme Richard, Jones' chief object was to fire the shipping and spread alarm in the coast cities, with the capture of prizes as an incidental diversion. During his first cruise, made memorable by his victory over the Drake, he discovered the unprotected merchantmen returning from the Colonies in America, Australia, India and the Hudson Bay Company's ships, easy prey—their resistance amounting to little more than a skirmish. His threats to lay the coast cities in ashes had resulted in his obtaining neither ransom nor the satisfaction of witnessing a conflagration which he believed would be only a just retaliation for the wanton destruction of property in

America at the hands of the British soldiery under the Howes and other servants in the employ of England's tyrannical King.

In all of his enterprises, Jones had been fairly successful save the securing of ransom, but he had yet to meet in open conflict an armed British man-of-war of equal or superior strength to his own. It is true the Drake was an armed ship of war and had but two less guns than the Ranger, but it must be remembered that no attempt had ever before been made by an armed ship of war to boldly enter English waters, and the crew of the Drake had little conception of the strength of the Bon Homme Richard's armament or the determined spirit of her Yankee commander; consequently they were taken unawares when they found themselves facing a formidable battleship with thirty or more guns belching forth shot and shell, and though they responded bravely for more than an hour they surrendered only when their ammunition was entirely exhausted.

It was Jones' desire to "go in harm's way," and as he proceeded southward along the English coast he grew bolder, and remembering his comparatively easy victory over the Drake he believed his vessel able to cope with the greatest in the boasted navy of Great Britain. At any rate he proposed to continue his cruise southward to the coast of Holland, as directed by Franklin, which would take him within sight of England's great fortresses and through waters thickly dotted with all manner of British craft. This was just the opportunity Jones desired most, for after the desertion of the treacherous Landais, the commander of the Bon Hom-

me Richard was constantly on the alert to take a few prizes before proceeding to the Texel.

The Bon Homme Richard was kept at all times in trim, fighting order, but during the two or three days following the Leith incident some repairs and alterations both in the rigging and on deck were found necessary, owing to the havoc done by the storm off Leith. In anticipation of an early engagement, Captain Jones directed that the decks be kept clear, while the men put in all their spare time repairing and sharpening the several hundred cutlasses, cleaning and priming their pistols and loading the 40 odd regular and improvised cannon with grape shot, and hanging lanterns about the decks to be lighted at a signal for action. The armament had been considerably augmented by the addition of everything portable from the Union before that luckless prize was turned over to Landais. After taking every precaution and completing all arrangements for immediate action, Captain Jones determined to engage and overhaul every vessel he met. With this purpose in view the canvas was spread and the vessel, accompanied by the Vengeance and Pallas, steered in a southerly direction to intercept the fleet of North Sea ships bound from London and Newcastle, as well as ports on the Channel to the Baltic.

Captain Jones had good cause to believe that the report of his exploits, during the past month or two, had spread far and wide especially throughout the British Isles. His presence in English waters was known to every sea captain and merchant having business on the seas. Maritime commerce suffered greatly, because the



Map showing the cruises of the Ranger, The Bon Homme Richard, the Alliance and the Serapis in English waters. After the destruction of the Bon Homme Richard in its memorable engagement with the Serapis, September 23, 1779, the latter became Jones' flag ship, and accompanied by the Alliance, with the prize Countess of Scarborough in tow headed for the Texel.

owners of sailing ships would not risk meeting the "bold pirate, Paul Jones," and whenever a vessel bound for a distant port was ready for sailing, the Captain signaled a man-of-war to conduct the vessel far on its way, or if no armed cruiser was at hand, a half dozen or more merchantmen formed a fleet each carrying an extra crew trained to the use of small arms and cannon. Every precaution was taken to avoid meeting the Yankee cruiser but one fleet of merchantmen seeing the Bon Homme Richard steering toward it, ran into the Humber River, closely pursued by the Bon Homme Richard and the Pallas. The merchantmen made their escape into shallow water where Jones dared not venture owing to the fortifications on both sides and on the smaller island at the mouth of the Humber.

In his Journal, Jones says: "On the 21st we saw two sails off Flamborough Head; the Pallas chased in the northeast quarter, while the Bon Homme Richard followed by the Vengeance, chased in the southwest. The one I pursued, a brigantine collier in ballast, belonged to Scarborough, was soon taken and sunk immediately afterward, as a fleet appeared to the southward. This was so late in the day, that I could not come up with the fleet before night; at length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon afterward I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland, and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering toward me from the spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them

had a pennant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back, all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one, also, kept to windward, very near the land, and the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. In the night we saw and chased two ships until three o'clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the private signal of reconnoissance which I had given to each Captain before I sailed from Groix. One half of the answer only was returned." In this position both sides lay till daylight, when Captain Jones discovered that he had been following the Alliance, which had returned to the fleet during the night of the 22nd.

On the morning of the 23rd, Jones speaks of sighting a fleet of 41 vessels off Flamborough Head, and bearing in a northeasterly direction. He gave orders for a general chase by hoisting the proper signal, and headed the Bon Homme Richard in the direction of the merchantmen. When the fleet discovered Jones bearing down on them, they all crowded together and made for the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet remained behind as if intending to give battle. Captain Jones could see by the use of a field glass that preparations were being made on board the larger ship to attack the vessels when they got within reach. The Bon Homme Richard now spread all sail possible, and with the signal flying for the line of battle, to which the Alliance, still commanded by the treacherous Landais, gave no attention. Eager as he was for an engagement, Jones could not reach the commodore's ship

until seven o'clock in the evening, owing to contrary winds.

Captain Jones had now come to the supreme moment of his life. He stood upon the threshold of not only his greatest battle and victory, but the most memorable one in naval history, Schley, at Santiago, and Dewey, at Manila, not excepted. Many attempts have been made to tell the story of the meeting of the Serapis and the Bon Homme Richard, but no writer has ever, or could be expected to improve on an account written by an eye witness, and more especially if that person had been the chief participant in that historic episode.

Immediately upon his reaching the Texel, Paul Jones transmitted to Franklin and afterward to the Congress, the following account of the Serapis incident. Before entering upon the details of the battle as given by Jones, let us see what was happening on board the Bon Homme Richard as the vessels were drawing near each other in battle array. Orders had been given to light the lanterns on the upper decks only; the men had buckled on their cutlasses and each a brace of pistols; the cooks and stewards were busy scattering sawdust and ashes over the decks to catch the blood and thus prevent the men from slipping; the powder cans and cannon were stripped, fires were extinguished, and soon all was in readiness to meet and battle with a foe vastly superior in number and equipment. These preparations were witnessed by thousands of spectators on the York heights, who had gathered in expectation of witnessing the capture of the "notorious pirate, Paul Jones," by the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough.

It was about seven o'clock in the evening of this beautiful September day, 1779, that the Stars and Stripes, floating over the Bon Homme Richard flaunted defiance to the Union Jack that waved from the mast of the Serapis. A full harvest moon, rich in its autumnal mellowness, was just rising over a peaceful sea. The restless waves that had wrought such havoc to the little squadron the week before, had sunk to rest, as if anticipating the impending tragedy whose victims would find a shifting sepulchre within their dark, unfathomed depths. Quiet reigned over sea and land as the lull which precedes the storm. Not a sound was heard, not a ripple broke the awful stillness; the men were not at prayers, though doubtless many a silent petition went up to heaven asking the god of battles to crown their deeds that night with victory.

"What Ship Is That!" came the hoarse cry from the ship flying the Commodore's pennant and the British flag. There was a moment of awful suspense plainly observed by the crews on either vessel. Again the death-like stillness was broken by a second demand from the British Commodore, which was instantly answered by a broadside of ten guns from the Bon Homme Richard. Tranquillity no longer reigned on ship board or the waters on which they rested. Before the smoke had time to envelop the fleets the sight that met the gaze of the men on the Bon Homme Richard is beyond the power of words to describe. Through timbers and planks, over decks and in the rigging, blood, flesh and bone were strewn in one conglomerate mass; the sea, 'round about, was like a pool where driftwood swirls in

the eddying tide of turbulent waters. Awful as was the scene of carnage that the full moon reflected back to the actors on the Bon Homme Richard, it was as nothing to the scene that was yet to be enacted; the sight was pleasant to that which met the gaze of the boarders when Jones lashed his ship to the Serapis and the hand to hand combat with cutlass, pistol and hand-grenade began for the mastery of sea supremacy.

The account of this memorable engagement is best described in the language of Jones himself, who says: "The battle thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practiced on both sides to gain advantage and rake each other, and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon Homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavors to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of manoeuver. It was my intention to lay the Bon Homme Richard athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bow-sprit, however, came over the Bon Homme Richard's after deck by the mizzen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the

cannon of each ship touching the opponent's. When this position took place, it was eight o'clock, previous to which the Bon Homme Richard had received sundry 18 pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of 12 pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old 18 pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun deck, they did no service whatever, except firing eight shot in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. I had only two pieces of cannon (9 pounders) on the quarter deck, that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, Mr. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterward played three pieces of nine pounders upon the enemy. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and cannister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear the decks, which was at last effected. The enemy was, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarter, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to signal the enemy. The English Commodore asked me if I demanded quarter,

and when I answered him in the most determined negative that I had not yet begun to fight, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of the cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of 10 pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language.

To account for the timidity of my three under officers, I mean the gunner, the carpenter and the master-at-arms, I must observe, that the two first were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shot, under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft without my knowledge to strike the colors. Fortunately for me, a cannon ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

All this time the Bon Homme Richard has sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end, but to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full

into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard; yet they passed along the off-side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ships for the Bon Homme Richard, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moonlight, and the sides of the Bon Homme Richard were all black, while the sides of the prize (Serapis) were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed the signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern, and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the Bon Homme Richard's head, stern and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounding a good officer on the forecastle. My situation was really deplorable. The Bon Homme Richard received various shot under water from the Alliance; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertained a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy, indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's main-mast began to shake and their firing decreased fast; ours rather increased, and the British colors were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock.

This prize proved to be the British ship of war, the

Serapis, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter, far more formidable than the Britons,—I mean fire and water. The Serapis was attacked only by the first, but the Bon Homme Richard was assailed by both; there was five feet of water in the hold, and though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining. It was 10 o'clock the next day, (September 24th) before the fire was entirely extinguished in both vessels. With respect to the situation of the Bon Homme Richard, the rudder was cut entirely off, the stern frames and transoms were almost entirely cut away, and the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the mainmast toward the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond my power of description to relate, and a person must have been an eye witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck and ruin, which everywhere appeared."

Such is the account of the great sea fight related by its chief actor, and the first of a long line of naval heroes who have added luster to American arms and placed this nation in the vanguard of States.

It must be noticed that while Captain Jones was engaging the Serapis, the Countess of Scarborough, that had come out with the Serapis to meet the Bon Homme Richard had struck its colors to the Pallas. Though the commencement was simultaneous, the Scarborough

surrendered early in the engagement while the Serapis desperately held out until nearly every man was either killed or disabled. Dr. Ridpath says that out of 375 men engaged on the Bon Homme Richard, 300 were either killed or wounded, but Jones nowhere relates even approximately the mortality on board his ship at the close of this most remarkable fight. Other narratives say that the dead and mortally wounded on both ships were by direction of Captain Jones thrown overboard, and the decks scrubbed, holystoned and sprinkled with hot vinegar and salt to take away the odor from the blood-soaked decks and lower rigging. In the hand to hand engagement which lasted but a few moments before the British struck their colors, the men fought like demons; the cockpits and hatchways on both ships looked like butchers' shambles—the decks strewn with fragments of human remains and the timbers and planks bespattered with flesh, blood and fragments of bone, bore evidence of the night's awful carnage. On the Bon Homme Richard the sawdust and ashes had caught most of the blood, but in the light of the full autumn moon, streams of blood could be plainly seen streaming down the yellow painted sides of the Serapis. What a sight awaited the vision of the living when the moon and the stars paled before the great luminary of day! The rivulets of blood trickling down the sides of the ship, must have looked more like huge lacerations, by the early dawn, than the vital fluid of butchered men. What a feast there must have been in those dark cavernous fish-inhabited recesses a hundred feet below, before that gallant craft, the Bon Homme Richard sank into its

watery tomb—a derelict—to wander at will without fear of wind or rock or war's remorseless strife!

When we remember that the Bon Homme Richard was an old French ship much the worse from many years' service, and having just passed through one of the most terrific equinoctial storms that ever visited the North Atlantic; when we recall the collision with the Alliance, and the blunder of its cowardly commander (Landais) in firing into the Bon Homme Richard; when we consider that the latter vessel was manned chiefly with recruits from every State in Europe, half of whom were unable to understand the simplest command in English; and again when we reflect that the Bon Homme Richard and its gallant commander was three thousand miles from home and under the very shadow of the enemy's fortresses protected by the most powerful vessels in the world; when we remember, too, that the charge against Paul Jones was that of piracy, and that if captured the vengeance of an enraged king and parliament would fall upon him in retaliation for his depredations on the coasts of England and Scotland, we can begin to realize the audacity, the utter fearlessness of this bold defender of the Constitution.

Again, the Serapis was the largest, newest and most thoroughly equipped man-of-war in the boasted navy of Great Britain, save the Dunkirk, which was then in American waters under the command of Admiral Richard Howe. Every man on the Serapis was thoroughly qualified and perfectly familiar with the duties expected of him while the commander could exact and secure

strict obedience to his orders; mutiny and disobedience in the English navy, not infrequently sent men to the yard arm or the penal colonies.

With thousands of spectators on shore watching in terrified suspense the outcome of the combat, the commander of the Serapis was spurred on by a good prospect of victory over his most dreaded foe, the terror of the seas. We cannot help admiring the ambition and bravery of the English commander, which even Paul Jones admired, but something more than these two very essential qualifications was necessary to win victories over men so imbued with the principles of liberty that they courted death rather than submit to tyranny. The British were wrong, and victory seldom perches on the banner of the oppressor when the life of an oppressed people is in jeopardy.

CHAPTER IX.

ORDERED TO LEAVE AMSTERDAM.

No man who has achieved fame came by it through accident. In the world of successful men there is no such thing as luck. The possession of great wealth is not fame; if it came through inheritance, it is more often a curse sent in disguise, and the curse rests equally upon the ancestor who unwisely bestows, as upon him who unwittingly receives.

The reason why there are so few successful men is because the great mass of humanity waits for riches or fame to be thrust upon them. When a man discovers that it is only in fairy books that wealth and greatness come without labor, the sooner he will take off his coat and go to work. Some men discover this fact quite early in life, and lay their plans preparatory for the summons that is to bear them on to victory. Others waste their strength and years in an endeavor to build up a showy exterior, while the inner self is false and rotten. In after years they waken from a self-induced hypnosis to find how true is the adage:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
That taken at the flood leads on to fortune."

They find, too, that the flood passed their way, but they were off chasing the shadows of hope—the illusions that

vanish when, sick at heart, they lay down the burdens of life.

Paul Jones was a man of deeds, of quick impulse, and, above all, a man of enterprise. He believed with Poor Richard, that if you wanted anything done, the best way is to do it yourself. Youth sometimes lacks judgment and discretion, but seldom enterprise and ambition. It is only the lack of talent or the capacity to use what measure God has given us to execute deeds, that in the judgment of men, some are called great.

Though Jones had failed in his cherished plans to capture any considerable number of merchantmen; though he had not been successful in securing ransom from the wealthy cities by the sea, still the spectacle of an audacious Yankee brig and crew sailing the British main, spreading terror everywhere, and causing all merchantmen and coaling ships to proceed cautiously under convoy of two or more ships of war until far away from the English coasts, was a sad blow to the boasted navy of Great Britain. After the Drake and Serapis incidents, the burning of vessels in the harbor of Whitehaven, and the attempted descent on Leith, the maritime power of England seemed to be waning. That it existed chiefly in point of numerical strength rather than efficiency and boldness to meet and battle with the fleets of the world, there was no longer any doubt in the mind of Captain Jones.

"Looked at in the calm light of history, the achievements of Paul Jones do not appear," says Abbott, "so very remarkable. It is none the less true, however, that they have never been paralleled." Before the days of

Paul Jones, no hostile vessel had ever swept the English Channel and Irish Sea clear of British merchantmen, and since the days of Paul Jones the exploit has never been repeated, save by the little American brig Argus, in the war of 1812. But never before nor since has the spectacle of a British ship in an English port, blazing with fire applied by the torch of an enemy, been seen, and no other man than Paul Jones has, for several centuries, led an invading force down the level highways, and across the green fields of England.

The Serapis had been completely dismantled in the engagement with the Bon Homme Richard, and it was necessary to put into the nearest friendly port for repairs. Dunkirk, a French port at the lower end of the Straits of Dover, and but a league or so from the Belgium frontier, was one of the three cities Franklin, in his letter to Jones, under date of June 30th, 1779, designated as a suitable port to dispose of such prizes as he might take in his cruise, but as Dunkirk had not the facilities for refitting a man-of-war, Jones decided to sail for Amsterdam by the way of the Texel, where the Indian, a vessel that had long been promised him by the Congress, was building. He accordingly gave instructions for his little fleet to make for the Texel, where he arrived on the afternoon of October 3rd, 1779, with all the prisoners (504) that he had taken in the surrender of the Serapis and sundry other British craft, including the Countess of Scarborough.

Captain Jones expected to return to France with an array of prizes that, in themselves, would make a formidable navy when properly equipped; he also expected

to return with sufficient ransom, exacted from the municipalities along the coast, to satisfy the requirements of the Commissioners at Paris and the Marine Committee who had sent him on his eventful cruise. He was returning now without ransom, and with but two prizes, both of which were very much in need of repair after the recent engagement in which they surrendered when in an almost sinking condition. He was returning, too, with less than half of the fleet that gave so much promise when it left Brest a month before. The Bon Homme Richard had gone to its grave in the North Sea, but not until it had achieved for its commander an imperishable fame; and those little French privateers had also gone, no one knows where, for they never returned to France. The two wrecked prize ships and the Alliance, the Pallas and the Vengeance were all that was left of the fleet that had cost Franklin and his associates hundreds of thousands of dollars and many laborious months of toil.

The inexcusable blunder of the stupid Landais in firing into the Bon Homme Richard when that vessel and the Serapis were lashed together and the crews fighting a deadly hand-to-hand conflict, was the accredited cause of the final destruction of the Bon Homme Richard, which sank a few hours after Captain Jones had transferred his crew and prisoners to the Serapis. This vessel suffered more above the water's edge, from fire and shot, than the Bon Homme Richard, but the hull of the latter had been pierced by more than a dozen 12-pound balls from the Alliance, which was given by Jones as the direct cause of its sinking.



I ANSWERED HIM IN THE MOST DETERMINED NEGATIVE THAT I HAD NOT YET BEGUN TO FIGHT."—Page 135.

As soon as Captain Jones reached Amsterdam, whither he had gone from the Texel, he sent Franklin an account of the engagement with the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough, a summary of which is given in the preceding chapter. In replying, Franklin congratulated Captain Jones on his splendid victory, saying: "For some days after the arrival of your express, scarcely anything was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others—but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion." In the same lengthy letter Franklin severely criticised the conduct of Landais, whom Minister de Sartin, as well as the French court, would hold responsible for the loss of the Bon Homme Richard, together with the lives of some twelve or fifteen American and French marines killed by the crew of the Alliance during the engagement with the Serapis.

Referring to Landais in a subsequent letter to Captain Jones, Franklin says: "I have accordingly written him, that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself, immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defense. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the min-

istry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court-martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the meantime it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under arrest, and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command, or take it upon yourself; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

"I am uneasy about your prisoners, (504 in number) —I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in British prisons."

From this it appears that on the two cruises made by Captain Jones in the Ranger and the Bon Homme Richard along the coasts of England, Ireland and Scotland, in search of prizes, he took enough prisoners to effect the exchange of every American carried in captivity to England. For this alone Paul Jones should be held in grateful rememberance. When we recall the brutal treatment many of our unfortunate soldiers received at the hands of such fiends as Cunningham, the notorious Provost at Philadelphia and New York, into whose hands Nathan Hale was consigned to await execution, we cannot but rejoice that the number of prisoners carried to England in the holds of cattle ships

and slavers, did not exceed the number of English taken by Paul Jones.

It was fortunate that America found sympathizers on the other side of the Atlantic, for in addition to the substantial aid she received in the way of ships, men, munitions and money, the harbors of France at all times, and Spain and Holland conditionally, were open to vessels carrying the flag of America. France was in an open state of war with England, growing out of her alliance with the Colonies, but Holland claimed neutrality, though it was from Amsterdam that France obtained most of her maritime stores. Holland was ill-prepared for war, but could not ignore the peremptory demands of Sir Joseph York, the British Ambassador, at The Hague, that "the captured frigates should be stopped at the Texel—the frigates taken by one Paul Jones, a subject of the King of Great Britain, who, according to treaties and the laws of war falls under the class of rebels and pirates."

The little Dutch provinces were placed in a perplexing attitude. They did not wish to offend the young Trans-Atlantic republic struggling for an independent existence, nor yet did they wish to alienate the close bonds of friendship existing between them and France, so a vacillating policy was adopted—temporizing, as it were, with great dexterity; but the demand of Sir Joseph York was of such a firm nature that the Dutch authorities compelled Captain Jones to forthwith put to sea. They not only declined to pass on the validity of captures in the open seas of vessels not belonging to their own subjects, but they forbade the ships to be

furnished with naval or warlike stores, save such as were absolutely necessary to carry them to the first foreign port.

It is plain why Franklin wished Jones to proceed to the Texel after a cruise in British waters; the Indian, built presumably for France, but which in reality was intended for the colonies, was riding at anchor in the harbor at Amsterdam. It was to be completed about August 15th, at which time Franklin had directed Jones to proceed to Holland and await further orders, evidently to be prepared to take the ship out at once.

Zuyder Zee is an arm of the North Sea, about thirty miles in width and sixty in length. The Texel is an island lying just without the entrance to the Zee, and for more than a thousand years has offered protection to vessels of all nations seeking shelter in time of storms. Armed ships of war, with or without prizes, were not permitted by the Dutch government to stop here or dispose of goods or prizes taken in times of war, but were compelled to put to sea or seek shelter on some other coast. This being an established law and recognized by the nations bordering on the North Sea, no exception could be made in the case of Paul Jones, and though Holland did not conceal her sympathy for the oppressed Colonies in America, the determined spirit of the British Ambassador would not permit Jones to remain in neutral territory. As it was, all England was alarmed at the frequent depredations made by the bold Yankee, and the mysterious movements of the Bon Homme Richard, Pallas, Vengeance and the Alliance were giving the King and

Parliament no end of anxiety. They remembered the engagement with the Drake and the Union, two armed ships of war, and the numberless craft belonging to the merchant marine that had been sunk or carried off as prizes; but the capture of the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough had thrown the three kingdoms of Great Britain into a panic bordering on frenzy. When the news of the surrender of the Serapis reached London, a dozen of the largest warships started in pursuit. They learned of the direction taken by Jones from incoming merchantmen who had sighted the Yankee fleet bearing in a southeasterly direction. Surmising that the enemy had gone to Holland, the British fleet steered for the Texel, which they reached within a week after the capture of the Serapis. They found Jones resting quietly in the shelter of a small cove or inlet on the south end of the island. Captain Jones knew that when news of the battle reached London redoubled efforts would be made to capture him and reclaim the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough; so preparations had been made to give the enemy a warm reception.

When Jones saw that he would have to fight six vessels instead of one, and not wishing to depend on the other ships of his fleet for support or assistance, and still further remembering that the 504 prisoners he then had meant the liberation of just that number of Americans whose re-enlistment under his command would go a long way toward equipping his proposed squadron, he decided to make his escape and proceed to Amsterdam. Once there he would gain time by enter-

ing into diplomatic correspondence with Franklin, Robert Morris, the French Ambassador at The Hague, and many others, including M. Dumas, the newly appointed agent of American affairs at Amsterdam. He would also be in a position to demand of Franklin the Indian, the ship that had long been promised him, both by Congress and the Commissioners at Paris.

The British Ambassador was at first mild in his demands on the Dutch government for the dismissal of Jones from the Texel, but now that the "bold Yankee pirate" had actually entered the harbor of Amsterdam, where he had established a temporary hospital, his anger and threats knew no bounds. Unless Jones surrendered the two captured British ships of war, or an effort was made by the Dutch government to force Jones to leave Holland, he would urge his government to declare the sheltering of Jones an unfriendly act and a violation of treaty alliances, which would be equivalent to a declaration of war. Sir Joseph York knew of the presence of a powerful British fleet watching the movements of Jones and if he could, by threats, prevail upon the Dutch authorities to drive him from Amsterdam, the fleet without the Texel would have little trouble in effecting his capture.

Jones was beginning to realize his desperate condition, but in order to gain time, and when opportunity offered, make his escape, he wrote the French Ambassador at The Hague as follows:

On board the Bon Homme Richard's prize the ship of war Serapis, at the Texel, November 4th 1779.

My Lord—This morning the commandant of the Road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship. He had before him on the table a letter which he said was from the Prince of Orange. He questioned me very closely whether I had a French commission, and if I had he insisted upon seeing it. I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the Bon Homme Richard, I feared it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that, if it was really lost, it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate of it from France. The Commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him that as there are eight of the enemy's ships laying in wait for me at the south entrance, and four more at the north entrance of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force, but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

I should be very happy, my lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago if I had met with common assistance, but for a fortnight past I have every day expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns and I am last night informed that it cannot be had without I send up water casks. The provisions, too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from The Hague is not yet sent down; and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making.

None of the iron work that was ordered for the Serapis is yet completed.

Thus you see, my lord, that my prospects are far from pleasing. I have few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorize me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, etc., or money to buy them, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humor. In the meantime I will send a vessel or two out to reconnioter the offing and to bring me word. Whatever may be the consequences of my having put into this harbor I must observe that it was done contrary to my opinion, and I consented to it only because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it. I am, yours, etc., JOHN PAUL JONES.

After spending almost three months in correspondence, mostly of a semi-diplomatic nature, but all of more or less complaining character with the evident purpose of gaining time, hoping that the ship Indian would be completed and made ready for sea, Jones decided to attempt an escape to some less hostile port, there to await the completion of the vessel so long promised him. His presence longer might not only result in an open conflict between England and Holland, but it was daily rendering his escape more difficult. In addition to the dozen armed ships of war lying in wait at the Texel, a merchant marine of nearly half a hundred vessels had congregated at the entrance

to the Zuyder Zee ready to give the alarm when the Yankee fleet made its appearance.

Jones had not been wholly inactive during his stay at Amsterdam. He had refitted and reprovisioned all of his vessels for a month's cruise, though his destination upon leaving Amsterdam was Brest, scarcely three days' sail, barring accidents, incidents and inclement weather. The Pallas, having returned from a short reconnoitre with reports that the south pass was free of armed ships with only two or three small sail guarding the exit, Jones made haste to depart. Leaving Amsterdam on Christmas night, when the entire populace was at church or gathered around the yule log or the Christmas green, Jones set out for the Texel, which he reached during the night of December 26th.

Early on the morning of the 27th a small coasting sloop sounded the alarm of escape and started in pursuit, but a shot from the Alliance, now commanded by Jones, sent that sail and its crew to the bottom. The alarm had reached the other vessels that were guarding the lower coast and they joined in the chase. Jones, not caring to be intercepted by more than one ship of war, did not remain behind to effect any captures, but as quickly as a vessel manifested its intentions of following the Alliance, Jones would drop anchor and await its approach, and when within speaking distance a well directed shot usually ended the cruise of some brave but unwise officer of his Majesty's service. More than a dozen haughty little craft, some from curiosity, others to give battle, but all with the evident intent of delaying Jones until the armed ships could come up,

ventured too near, with the result that none of them returned to relate their experience with the Yankee fleet.

Long before sunset the little squadron had gained the open sea, leaving the pursuers far in the rear. When the crews on board the twelve warships learned of the escape of their prey that had been locked in the harbor at Amsterdam for three months, they declared that Jones was in league with satan, and when they found that more than a dozen sail with their crews had been destroyed, their fears were intensified ten-fold. No attempt was made to follow the Alliance, or the Serapis, late of the British navy but now "the terror of the sea and manned by demons flying the black flag."

When Jones left Amsterdam he changed flagships; the Alliance, while no larger, was better equipped than the Serapis, and possessed greater speed, which was the one thing that Jones desired most in a ship of war. While he wanted to go in harm's way, he also wished to get out of harm's way when outnumbered or when a superior force was sent against him. On the evening of the 27th Captain Jones wrote M. Dumas at Amsterdam, as follows:

Alliance at Sea, 27th December, 1779.

Hon. M. Dumas:

I am here, my dear sir, having successfully evaded the enemy without the Texel. There is a good north by east wind and I am flying my best American colors. So far you have your wish. What may be the event

of this critical moment I know not; I am not, however, without good hopes. * * *

In his journal prepared for Louis XVI, Captain Jones says he passed along the Flemish banks and getting the windward side of the British fleet of observation in the North Sea, passed through the Straits of Dover, in full view of the enemy's fleets on the Dover coasts. The following day Jones ran the Alliance past the Isle of Wight in sight of many British ships at Spithead, and within the next two days got safely through the channel, having passed to the windward of several large British cruisers. He steered to the southward, cruising for some days without incident off Cape Finisterre. On the 16th of January, 1780, a heavy gale blew from the west, and lest it drive the ships on the rocks, and knowing his safety in entering a Spanish port, he sought anchorage in the harbor of Corogne. Here he was kindly received; his fame and daring had preceded him even to this remote peninsula in the South. On the 10th of February, after an uneventful cruise at sea, he arrived at Groix, having no other prizes than the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, together with his 504 prisoners.

His loss had been heavy—not a third of the men that sailed from Brest the preceding August returned with him in February. Besides the loss of the Bon Homme Richard, estimates place the number of men lost on that ship during its remarkable engagement with the Serapis at 300 out of 375, but that doubtless includes the sick and wounded left in hospitals at Amsterdam.

From Groix the fleet sailed for L'Orient, where Cap-

tain Jones lost no time in having the Alliance refitted; the French ministry had demurred in incurring further expense on account of Paul Jones and the American ship, but having met and overcome vastly greater obstacles, so small a matter was scarcely taken notice of. Even Franklin showed his penuriousness and unconcern for the valiant services Jones had rendered the Colonies, by exclaiming: "The whole expense will fall upon me, and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many expected calls upon me from all quarters, I therefore beg that you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible and take nothing you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question."

All necessary repairs were made, however, and by the 26th of April the Alliance was pronounced by Jones to be one of the most complete frigates in France. Neither in his correspondence nor his journal does he speak of the expense or who paid for its refitting, but it is not at all unlikely that the cost of refitting the Alliance fell on Franklin and the French ministry. Paul Jones never begrudged nor even considered the item of expense when necessity demanded it, and on this occasion his liberality of spirit outran the frugal genius of Franklin, and the illiberal jealousy of the corrupt ministry at Passy.

CHAPTER X.

PAUL JONES IN FRANCE—SAILS FOR AMERICA.

Leaving the Alliance and its crew at L'Orient, Captain Jones hastened to Versailles to quiet the talk about the division of honors in the recent engagements between the Ranger and the Drake and the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis. Upon his return to France, Landais began to circulate false rumors concerning Jones' character and the part he took in the long cruise in English waters. The reader has been made acquainted with the cowardly, traitorous and extremely selfish character of Landais, which in contrast to the bold, unselfish and magnanimous spirit of Paul Jones makes the capacity of the two men all the more conspicuous. Words are inadequate to express the contempt in which the former's name was held by Franklin, Deane and the Marine Committee, as well as Washington and the Congress.

Landais was not content in his efforts to detract from Jones' well earned reputation, but he set up a claim for a share of the prize money not only for the Serapis, the Countess of Scarborough, the Drake and several merchantmen, captured during the recent cruise, but also for the prizes he himself disposed of in Norway. About the only means Captain Jones had to meet his incidental expenses was from the sale of stores taken

from merchantmen and ships that he captured at the cost of life and danger of total annihilation or capture; it was the latter he stood most in fear of, for it would have meant an ignominous death on the gallows; shot and shell had no terrors for him. The prizes themselves, that would have afforded him a goodly sum with which to carry on his operations in British waters, were either surreptitiously stolen by Landais, whom Jones would have been justified in placing under arrest, or else they were confiscated by the Ministry to further the ambition of men little more worthy than Landais to defend the Declaration of American Independence.

If Paul Jones was ever to realize his ambition to command a formidable European squadron flying the American colors, one thing was certain, and that was that he should have been given unlimited orders, with authority to enlist and punish for disobedience every man who was to serve under him, and the right to dispose of his prizes wherever and at such times as he saw fit. But this was so long denied him, that when it did come, the enemy, realizing the hopelessness of its cause, was offering terms of peace that would permit an early and honorable termination of hostilities.

Although Jones keenly felt the attempt to rob him of his well earned glory, he lost no time in placing himself in a favorable light before the Ministry and American Commissioners, a majority of whom believed in his integrity as well as seamanship. In his absence Landais prevailed upon the crew of the Alliance, most of whom had served under him, to rebel against the authority of Jones and to demand their share of the prize money.

Upon his arrival at Versailles Jones found it necessary to submit his demands for his and his men's share of the prize money, first to the Minister of Marine, who in turn was to lay the claim before the proper tribunal. The Minister, M. de Sartin, had just gone to Paris, to which place Jones hastened with all possible speed. Arriving at Paris Captain Jones found his name on all tongues, and his exploits the one topic of general conversation. On the boulevards, in the cafés, clubs and public houses—wherever men and women congregated, the story of the terrific sea-battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, was discussed with as much enthusiasm as was the Battle of Manila Bay when news of that glorious victory reached America. The stories, depicting Paul Jones in piratical garb, flying the black flag from the masts of a ship painted within and without with tar, had without reason or justice made his name synonymous with that of the famous Captain Kidd, a fellow countryman of his, as well as many noted pirates then infesting the Mediterranean, Gulf of Mexico and West Indian waters.

After submitting his claims, together with some matters of importance pertaining to future operations that properly came before the Ministry, such as making known his desire to take yet another vessel beside the Alliance back to America, Jones set out on a tour of the chief cities of France as the nation's honored guest. Wherever he went, even to the remote towns and villages of the Kingdom, "he received the most flattering applause and public approbation." Both the great and

learned sought his acquaintance in audience as well as in private life and honored him with particular marks of friendship. At Court he was received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem and a well earned reputation. He was everywhere toasted and honored; Court dignitaries, their wives and eminent personages in all walks of life, vied in their attentions. The King, Louis XVI, ever loyal to the Colonies, presented him with a gold sword, and permission was requested and granted by the American Congress to invest him with the Military Order of Merit, an honor which had never before been conferred on any one who had not actually borne arms under the Commission of France. All these honors were proudly received and did equal honor to the royal donor and the individual distinguished by his favor.

The French Ministry, King and populace, were in the proper mood to bestow whatever favors Jones might ask, and as might be expected, his request was for another vessel to accompany the Alliance, which was about to sail for America; so the Ariel was ordered put into commission to be placed "under command of Admiral Chevelier John Paul Jones of the American and French navy." While basking in the sunshine of royal favor, caressed by courtiers and smiled upon by the fair, everything on board the Alliance—Jones' proper scene of action—was going to destruction. Imagine his dismay when he returned to L'Orient to find that the wretched and traitorous Landais had departed with his newly refitted ship, the Alliance!

Inquiry elicited the fact that the mutiny originated



ACTION BETWEEN THE BON HOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS, SEPTEMBER 23, 1779.

with Arthur Lee, who had been sent to France by the Congress to co-operate with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, Commissioners on behalf of the United States. Though Lee rendered valuable service to the Colonies, while a Commissioner to France, Spain and Prussia, and in the Continental Congress, yet he was insanely jealous of Franklin, and the favors the latter received, not only from Congress, but from almost every Court and Court dignitary in Europe. This only aroused Lee's anger the more, and whenever he saw an opportunity to humiliate and annoy Franklin or to show his animosity toward his old colleagues in Europe, he never lost an opportunity.

There was no doubt in the minds of Franklin and Deane, or even de Sartin and others connected with the French Ministry, that the sudden departure of the Alliance with Landais in command had its inception in the mind of Lee, for inquiry instituted immediately upon the arrival of the Alliance at Boston, showed that not only had Lee gone to America on the Alliance, but that he and Landais had been much together at L'Orient during the absence of Captain Jones in Paris. The investigation into the conduct of Landais, both in the Serapis affair and the unexpected appearance of the Alliance in American waters without any communication from Captain Jones, resulted in Landais' peremptory dismissal from the service of the United States. Court martial proceedings were begun within a fortnight after his arrival in America, but from the defiant attitude assumed by Landais and his persistent attempt to blacken the character and to cast reflections on Cap-

tain Jones' integrity and loyalty to the Colonies, who was everywhere heralded as "a hero of imperishable fame," he was declared to be mentally unbalanced and wholly irresponsible. Out of charity for the man, and the good feeling existing between France and America, immediate dismissal with a scathing denunciation by the presiding officer at the trial, was deemed a sufficient punishment.

Here, even at this early day, we see manifested to a marked degree the spirit of liberality on the part of the judiciary, approved by the legislative and executive branches of our government, that is manifestly American in its conception. The effect of this decision, which was the first judicial act of the navy department, has left an abiding influence upon the life, character and the institutions of the American people. It is therefore all the more galling that so brave and generous a man as Winfield Scott Schley, the hero of Santiago, should have been humiliated by the findings of a court of naval inquiry when the facts justified a far different result.

Franklin was not unaware of the discontent existing on board the Alliance, for in a note to Captain Jones received after the departure of that vessel, Franklin says: "Saturday morning, I received a letter signed by about 115 of the sailors of the Alliance, declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor depart from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid them, and the utmost farthing of their prize-money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until their legal Captain, P. Landais, was restored to them. This mu-

tiny has undoubtedly been excited by that Captain; probably by making them believe that satisfaction has been received for those Norway prizes delivered up to the English."

It will be noticed that in Franklin's communication, he does not even mention Lee, whom he undoubtedly knew had been staying at L'Orient during the entire absence of Captain Jones in his triumphant tour of France. On more than one occasion Franklin had been an unwilling listener to Lee's unjust condemnation of the action of Jones in reporting Landais' conduct which Lee did not consider mutinous, but simply his right to act independently of Jones whenever he thought the judgment of Landais justified such action. The subsequent conduct of both Jones and Landais showed the short-sightedness of Arthur Lee, and adds yet another proof of the world's correct estimate of that far-seeing, wise, prudent, just, cautious, yet withal, frugal man—Benjamin Franklin.

France was now in the midst of her war with England. Fearing the return of Captain Jones with government aid to restrain the sailors on the Alliance from carrying out the threat they made in their petition to Franklin, and in addition, anticipating an early visit of British war-ships to the harbor of L'Orient, Landais ordered the anchor raised, and on the morning of June 30th, the Alliance set sail for America, having on board Arthur Lee, one of the three commissioners from the United States to the Court of France.

Captain Jones, learning of the dissatisfaction existing on board the Alliance, made desperate efforts to

reach L'Orient in order to restore confidence, as well as to reassure the crew that they would be paid every dollar that was due them in salary, as well as their share of the prize money. Owing to a series of unavoidable delays by boat and stage, with a still more vexatious delay of 54 hours at Versailles, on account of diplomatic complications arising through the investigation of the British Consul, Jones did not arrive at Brest, to which point he learned the Alliance had set sail, until the morning of the 2nd of July, too late to overtake Landais and his motley crew, who had decamped the night before.

Captain Jones could do nothing but return to Paris to consult Franklin about another command, and to complete arrangements for equipping, manning and provisioning the Ariel, which was presented to him by the Ministry through de Sartin. Late in November, Mr. Temple Franklin, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, and Secretary of the Commission at Paris, received the following note from a Doctor Cooper, of Boston, a friend of Franklin's and an influential citizen in America, bearing the date of September 8th, 1783: "The Alliance arrived here some weeks ago, with Dr. Lee, who is still in town. This vessel appears to me to have left France in an unjustifiable manner, though I cannot yet tell the particular circumstances. Landais did not hold his command through the voyage, which was either relinquished by him or wrested from him. All the passengers, as well as officers and sailors, are highly incensed against him, and Dr. Lee as much as any one. A court of inquiry is now sitting upon this matter, in

which the Doctor has given a full evidence against the Captain, which represents him as insane."

As has been noted, the French Court had presented Captain Jones with the ship Ariel, which, with the Alliance, was to carry him in triumph to America, so that he might receive the plaudits of a grateful people who then, as now, have never ceased to honor the name of the founder of the American navy.

Both Franklin and Jones had grave fears on account of the distressed condition of Washington's army, and though Jones had endeavored to secure a larger vessel than the Ariel so as to enable him to carry greater reinforcements to the Americans, yet his thoughts were so strongly fixed on giving immediate aid to Washington that he made haste to depart at once.

Before her war with France, England had sent all her ships to America save a few of inferior force, which were kept in English waters to protect the merchant marine. Having succeeded in drawing England and France into war, Jones realized that it would be necessary for Parliament to recall at least half her ships under the command of Admiral Howe, and in so doing his place was then in America where, by quick decisive action, the war could be brought to an early and glorious termination. He therefore made haste to depart.

The voyage in the Ariel was begun on the 8th of October, but when about twelve hours out from Brest, where the vessel touched before beginning her trans-Atlantic voyage, a tremendous gale arose which continued with unabated fury for many days. After battling with the elements until the ship was in an almost

sinking condition, Captain Jones decided to return to L'Orient, where he arrived October 13th. Upon reaching port it was found necessary to dispose of the stores and unship all arms and ammunition, for it would likely be some weeks before the necessary repairs could be made and then fresh provisions and powder would be required before the ship was again ready for its long voyage to America, which it was hoped would be more successful than the previous attempt.

Franklin had remonstrated with Jones when the expense of refitting the Alliance came before the Commission, but, the latter heeded not the frugal Franklin's council, and had the Alliance equipped with the best that money could procure, and had the bills sent to him and the French court for payment. After the loss of the Alliance through the treachery of Landais, the Ministry immediately presented Captain Jones with the Ariel, which had been repaired during his sojourn at Paris two weeks before; but now that the latter had returned in a dilapidated condition caused by the violence of the elements, the Ministry, though more especially Franklin, begrudged the necessary funds to place the vessel again in sea-worthy condition. Though consenting to the refitting, Franklin could not resist another attempt to berate Captain Jones for the enormous expense to which he had been put in supplying new European outfits when Washington and his army in America were in sore straits for even food and clothing, not to mention arms and ammunition.

"I suppose," writes Franklin, "you thought it for the good of the service, as you say you did, to order that

great quantity of medicine for your seventy-four gun ship, yet after what I had written you of my difficulties, it still seems to me that you ought not to have done it without informing me and obtaining my consent; and I have only to be thankful that you did not order all the stores, sails and rigging, anchors, powder, etc., contemplated. I think you must be sensible, on reflection, that with regard to me it was wrong, and that it ought not to be expected from me to be always ready and able to pay the demands that every officer in the service may saddle me with. This affair, however, is done with, and I shall say and think no more about it."

Paul Jones had expected to return to America in the Alliance, but as it has been noted, he was prevented from doing so by Landais, who anticipated him in going to America himself in the Alliance. It was expected that the latter vessel would be ready for the voyage by the 1st of June, and Captain Jones was endeavoring to complete his mission, that of securing prize money and back pay for his men, together with an additional ship or two, in time to sail for America at the appointed time. While at Versailles Minister de Sartin, by order of the King, handed Captain Jones the following letter addressed to Mr. Hantenydon, President of the Congress of the United States, to be presented upon Captain Jones' arrival in America:

"VERSAILLES, 29th May, 1780.

"Commodore Paul Jones, after having given to all Europe and, above all, to the enemies of France and of the United States, high proof of his valor and of his

talents, is about to return to America, to give an account to the Congress of the success of his military operations. I am aware, Sir, that the reputation he has so justly acquired will go before him, and that the history of his campaigns will be sufficient to prove to his countrymen that his abilities are equal to his courage; but the King has thought it right to join to the public voice his approbation and his bounty. He has charged me expressly to make known to you how much he is satisfied with the services of the Commodore, persuaded that Congress will do him like justice.

"His Majesty gives him a pledge of his esteem in bestowing on him the gift of a sword, which could not be placed in better hands, and now offers to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the cross of the order of Military Merit. His Majesty thinks that these peculiar distinctions, associating together in the same honors the subject of two countries united by similar interests, may be regarded as another tie between them, and excite them to emulation in the common cause.

"If having approved the conduct of the Commodore, it is judged fit to interest him with any new expedition in Europe, his Majesty will see him return with pleasure; and he presumes Congress will refuse nothing that may be deemed necessary to promote the success of his enterprises. My personal esteem for the Commodore induces me to recommend him in a particular manner to you, Sir; and I venture to hope that, in the reception which he may receive from Congress, he will perceive the fruits of the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

"I have the honor to be your humble and very obedient servant, etc., etc. DE SARTIN."

Though this letter was written in May and after two ineffectual attempts to reach America, it was not until the 18th of December that Captain Jones addressed his farewell letters to Franklin, de Sartin and a number of distinguished court ladies and other dignitaries whom he had met on his triumphant tour through France and during his brief stay in Paris. Captain Jones did not overlook inditing a last farewell to the King who had come to look upon him as the greatest commander and naval hero of all time.

Paul Jones was now at the height of his fame. His name and deeds were known in every hamlet throughout Europe and America. Having accomplished about all that he had set out to do—that of spreading alarm throughout England, destroying her commerce and proving that her famed maritime strength was an idle boast—he was now ready to return to America and receive the thanks of the Congress that had sent him on his glorious mission and the plaudits of his countrymen, who gave assurances that next only to Washington was his name honored among his four million countrymen in America.

CHAPTER XI.

PAUL JONES IN AMERICA—THE BIRTH OF A NATION.

Events in America were following each other in rapid succession. The dastardly attempt of Benedict Arnold to deliver the American army over to Howe had been foiled and Andrè had just been hanged for his connection in the affair; the battle of the Cowpens had been fought and won by the Americans. These, and the numerous expeditions fitted out in Europe for the defense of the Colonies gave renewed courage to the patriots, which only added to the troubles of the British, thereby rendering hopeless their attempt to retain possession of the Colonies. La Fayette had returned to America after securing valuable aid in France; Greene, Washington, Schuyler, Gates, Morgan, de Kalb, de Grasse, Putnam, Rochambeau and others, were harassing the enemy on all sides, by land and by sea. Turn whichever way they would, Cornwallis and Clinton met with determined resistance and with increasing certainty of defeat. Gradually their armies were dwindling to small proportions until it became necessary for each to reinforce the other when occasion demanded, thus keeping their forces continually on the move.

On the 18th of February, in the midst of general re-

joicing over the great victory at the Cowpens, came the glad tidings that Commodore John Paul Jones had reached Philadelphia. The arch enemy of Great Britain—the most dreaded foe she had ever known, had returned to America and at a most critical time for her. Already there was a rift in the clouds that had hung like a pall over the country for seven long years—the sunlight of peace was breaking through, and there was universal rejoicing over the prospect of an early termination of hostilities.

When Howe learned of the arrival of Commodore Jones, he lost no time in calling in his patrol ships for fear of their meeting the "bold buccaneer." From the beginning of the war Lord Howe had little or no navy to contend with in America. The hundred or more ships under the command of his brother Admiral Richard Howe patrolled the coast in order to prevent, if possible, the landing of reinforcements from France and Spain, and to act in conjunction with the land forces in an attack upon the coast cities. Numerous as were the British ships and active as they were supposed to be it was a weekly occurrence for vessels to arrive or depart for Europe by the southern route. LaFayette had made three passages and Paul Jones had met with little resistance in reaching Philadelphia; d'Estaing, Rochambeau and de Grasse had found no difficulty in forming squadrons in France and landing troops picked up at Brest, Passy, Bordeaux, Paris and Marseilles for the defense of the Colonies, where they rendered valuable aid in co-operating with the troops under Washington.

Though his hopes were centered on reaching America at the earliest possible moment, Jones could not resist the temptation of keeping an eye open for straggling British ships with the hope that he might enter port with a string of trophies following in his wake, like the ancient mariners returning to the shores of the Aegean with an hundred triremes and as many galleys, to prove the valor of their arms. Though his voyage was fruitless, so far as prizes were concerned, yet it was not without incident. The Ariel encountered heavy seas during most of the voyage and had several small engagements with sailing craft, but of those captured none were worth the trouble of bringing into port. The crews were taken prisoners, however, while the small crafts were sent to the bottom after everything of value had been transferred to the flagship.

On the evening of the 1st of February, in latitude 26 degrees north, in the same longitude as the Barbadoes, and not more than twenty leagues to the northward, Jones records meeting with a remarkably fast sailing and heavily armed frigate belonging to the British; he endeavored to avoid an action, and as the night approached, he hoped to succeed, notwithstanding her superior sailing abilities. He was, however, mistaken, for the next morning the ships were at a less distance apart than they had been the evening before, although during the night the officers of the watch had informed Jones that the enemy continued out of sight. An action now became unavoidable, and we can be sure that the Ariel was not unprepared. She at once assumed the aggressive. Everything was thrown overboad that

interfered with the action and safety of the crew and ship. Captain Jones took particular care, by management of sail and helm, to prevent the enemy from discovering the force of the Ariel, and worked her so well as not to reveal any warlike appearance.

In the afternoon, and about two hours before sun-set the Ariel now and then fired a light "stern-chaser" at the enemy from the quarter-deck and continued to crowd sail as if trying to escape. This had the desired effect, and the enemy pursued with greater eagerness. Jones did not permit the ship to come within pistol shot until the approach of night, when, having well examined his force, he shortened sail, to allow the enemy to overtake him. When the two ships came within hailing distance of each other they both hoisted English colors. The person whose duty it was to hoist the pendant on board the Ariel had not taken care to make the other end of the halliards fast, so as to be able to haul it down again to change colors. This prevented Jones from effecting the manœuvre he had intended and forced him to let the enemy approach on the leeward side of the Ariel, where a battery ready for action could be plainly seen by the enemy. An interview now took place between the two commanders which lasted nearly an hour, during which time Captain Jones learned the exact situation of affairs in America. The Captain of the enemy's ship gave his name as John Pindar. His ship, he said, had been commanded by a Mr. Peck of Boston, built at Newberryport, owned by a Mr. Tracy of that place, commanded by Captain Hopkins, the son of the late Commodore Hopkins, and had been refitted at New

York, and named the Triumph, by Admiral Rodney.

Captain Jones ordered Captain Pindar to let down a boat and come aboard the Ariel and show his commission, to prove whether or not he really did belong to the English navy. To this order Pindar made a number of excuses chief of which was that Captain Jones had not told him who he was, and that for all he knew he might be falling into the hands of "the pirate Paul Jones or some other traitor in the service of the rebels," and then again he gave as a further excuse that his small boat was unseaworthy and that there was great danger of being swamped in the heavy sea that was beating against his ship. Captain Jones repeated his command and told him not to delay another moment but to lower his boat at once. Captain Pindar positively refused to comply with the request, and said that he would answer for twenty guns, and that himself and every one of his men had declared themselves Englishmen and given satisfactory evidence in proof of their assertions. Jones replied that he would give him just five minutes to lower his boat. The time having elapsed with no apparent disposition on the part of Captain Pindar to comply with Jones' request, the Ariel backed a little and to one side and then ran close under the stern of the enemy's vessel, pulled down the English colors and hoisted the Stars and Stripes, and being within short pistol shot immediately began a terrific bombardment.

It was half past seven in the evening, which seemed to be Captain Jones' favorite time for springing surprises on his antagonists. The engagement was brief but

made a brilliant spectacle while it lasted. The enemy made a feeble resistance for about ten minutes and then ran up the white flag. The Captain begged for quarter, saying that half of his men were killed. When the Ariel's fire ceased, the crew, as usual after a victory, gave cries of joy, to "show themselves Englishmen." The enemy filled their sails and got clear of the Ariel before the cries of joy on the latter ship had ended. Jones suspecting the design of the enemy, immediately set every sail to prevent their escape; but having the advantage in sailing, the Triumph soon got beyond gunshot of the Ariel.

This account is taken partially from Jones' Journal, and partially from a copy of a Philadelphia paper bearing the date of February 20th, 1781. To the above account Jones adds: "The English Captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations. A conspiracy was discovered among the English part of the Ariel's crew immediately after sailing from France. During the voyage every officer, and even the passengers, had been constantly armed and kept a regular watch, besides a constant guard with fixed bayonets. After the action with the Triumph the plot was so far discovered, that it was necessary to confine twenty of the ring-leaders in irons."

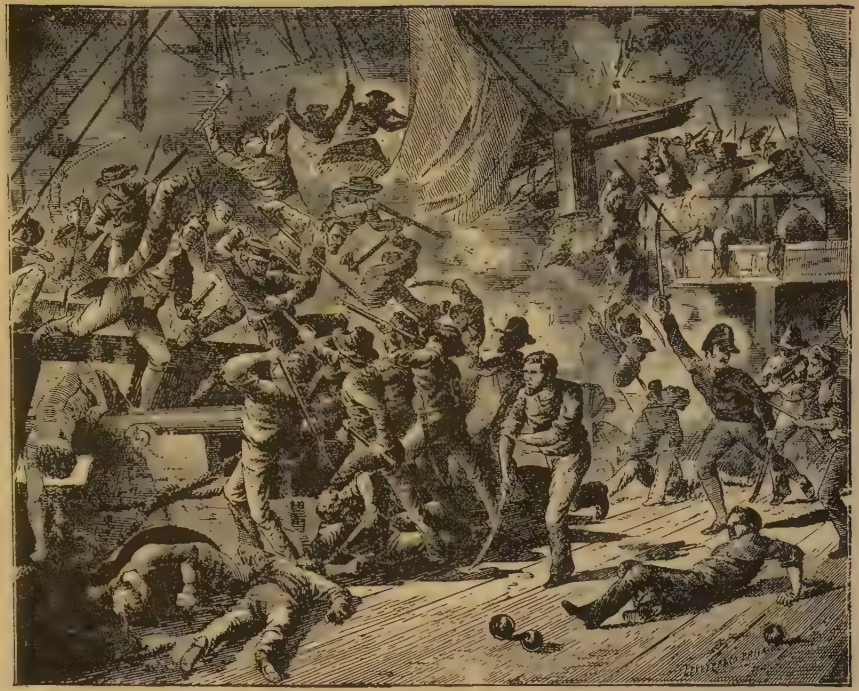
Without further incident or delay the Ariel, proceeding on its voyage, reached Philadelphia shortly after sunrise on the 18th of February, 1781, having been absent from America just three years, three months and

eighteen days. In this brief lapse of time Paul Jones rose from poverty and obscurity to a place in history which age cannot efface; his fame seems to grow brighter as time goes on; while historians seem never to weary in recounting his glorious exploits in defense of the rights of man as against the divine rights of kings.

A Board of Admiralty had been for some time organized, and on this Board devolved the duty of inquiry, while Congress almost simultaneously took up the Landais-Jones controversy. Forty-seven questions were asked of Jones, to all of which he was required to give answers in writing. He lost no time in complying with this order, and we may be sure that his answers to the official interrogatories were on all points ample, for it appears, they were satisfactory. The report of the Board to Congress through the Marine Committee, so far from being condemnatory, was highly flattering. Another report of the same Board will show the exact estimate placed upon his courage and integrity; it is as follows:

"Admiralty Office, June 16th, 1781.

"The Board, to whom was referred the letters and other papers relative to the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esquire, beg leave to report, that they have carefully perused said letters and papers, wherein they find favorable mention is made of his abilities as an officer by the Duke de Vauguyon, M. de Sartin and Dr. Franklin; and this is also corroborated by that valor and intrepidity with which he engaged his Britannic Majesty's



"Jones lashed his ship to the Serapis and the hand to hand combat with cutlas, pistol and hand grenade began for the mastery of sea supremacy"—Page 133.

ship, the Serapis, of forty-four cannon, twelve and eighteen pounders, who, after a severe contest for several hours, surrendered to his superior valor, thereby acquiring honor to himself and dignity to the American flag.

"The Board therefore humbly conceive that an honorable testimony should be given to Captain John Paul Jones, commander of the Bon Homme Richard, his officers and crew, for their many singular services in annoying the enemy on the British coasts, and particularly for their spirited behavior in an engagement with his Britannic Majesty's ship of war, the Serapis, on the 23rd of September, 1779, and obliging her to surrender to the American flag."

Another report from the same Committee, sent to Congress a week later speaks of the services of Captain Jones as follows:

"With regard to Captain Jones, the Board beg leave to report, that the views of the Marine Committee in sending Captain Jones in the Ranger to France, were, that he might take the command of the Indian, a ship that was building at Amsterdam on a new construction, under a contract made by the Commissioners of these States at Paris, and with her, in concert with the Ranger, annoy the coasts and trade of Great Britain. When he arrived at Nantes, the Commissioners sent for him to Paris. After remaining there some time, he was informed that they had assigned their property in the ship Indian to the King of France. Captain Jones returned to Nantes, plans and undertakes a secret expedition in the Ranger."

The report enters into a lengthy account of the various services rendered by Jones while in Europe, and closes by saying: "Ever since Captain Jones first became an officer in the navy of these States, he hath shown an unremitting attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious country. That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish Channel in the Ranger, he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagration of our defenseless towns. That returning from Europe he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America; and hath received from the illustrious monarch of France that reward of warlike virtue which his subjects receive by a long series of faithful service or uncommon merit.

"The Board is of the opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention, and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in Congress assembled." The following resolution naturally pleased Jones very much, for he often referred to it in after years as "a tribute worthy of any man's talents:"

"By the United States In Congress Assembled,

"SATURDAY, April 14th, 1781.

"On the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Varnum, Mr. Houston, and Mr. Mathews, to which was referred on motion of Mr. Varnum:

"The United States, in Congress assembled, having taken into consideration the report of the Board of Admiralty of the 28th March last, respecting the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., Captain in the navy, do

"*Resolve,* That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be given Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity with which he hath supported the honor of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprise to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added a luster to his character and the American arms.

"That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein."

"Headquarters, New Windsor, 15th May, 1781.

"*To John Paul Jones, Esq.*

"Sir—My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing which have been so long provided in France.

"Had I had any particular reason to have suspected you of being accessory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers

which you have, to the best of my knowledge, made to the questions proposed to you by the Board of Admiralty, and upon which that Board has, in its Report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merits and services.

"Whether our naval affairs have in general been well or ill conducted would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct in several of our officers have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention *that particular one* which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced the most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of his favor which can only be obtained by a long and honorable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

"That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired is the sincere wish of, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Thus we see with what ease the Board of Admiralty, sitting as an investigating Committee, completed its task and passed commendatory rather than condemnatory judgment upon the conduct of Paul Jones, during the three and one-fourth years he was in command of American vessels in European waters.

While the investigation was in progress Arthur Lee, who had aided Landais in his desertion of Jones and encouraged his mutinous conduct during the Drake and Serapis incidents, lost no opportunity to declare his belief in Jones' integrity and loyalty. Landais had been

dismissed from the service of the United States with a severe reprimand and doubtless Lee realized that future favors at the hands of his countrymen could only come by publicly declaring his belief in Jones, and thus be on the popular side of a very unpleasant and unfortunate incident in the closing scene of the nation's long struggle for freedom.

Within a fortnight after a public declaration of Jones' honorable conduct in all his public career he was appointed by a unanimous vote of Congress to the command of the America, a magnificent vessel then building at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In order to superintend the final construction and properly equip the ship that was presented to him as a partial recognition of his services in behalf of the Colonies, Jones proceeded to Portsmouth where he remained some time. During the days of his comparative idleness he found time to carry on an extensive correspondence with those with whom he was more or less intimately associated both in Europe and America. In addition to this delightful recreation, he also found time to mature and arrange his ideas on the reorganization of the American navy. On the latter subject, the language used by Jones himself is the best evidence of his extensive nautical skill to plan and execute; it is therefore only fair to permit Jones to state in his own way his opinion concerning the needs of the infant Republic:

He says: "The beginning of our navy, as navies now rank, was so singularly small, that I am of the opinion it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea-officers to have, at

so critical a period, launched out on the ocean with only two armed merchant ships, two armed brigantines, and one armed sloop, to make war against such a power as Great Britain? To be diffident is not always a proof of ignorance. I had sailed before this revolution in armed ships and frigates, yet, when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first-lieutenant. If midnight study, and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea-officers, can have given me advantages, I am not without them. I confess, however, I have yet to learn; it is the work of many years' study and experience to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea-officer. Cruising after merchant ships, the service in which our frigates have generally been employed, affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is now, perhaps, as much difference between a battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a duel and a ranged battle between two armies. The English, who boast so much of their navy, never fought a ranged battle on the ocean before the war that is now ended. The battle off Ushant was, on their part, like their former ones, irregular; and Admiral Kippell could only justify himself by the example of Hawke in our remembrance, and of Russell in the last century. From that moment the English were forced to study and to imitate the French in their evolutions. They never gained any advantage when they had to do with equal force, and the unfortunate defeat of Count de Grasse

was owing more to the unfavorable circumstances of the wind coming ahead from points at the beginning of the battle, which put his fleet into the order of *echiquier* when it was too late to tack, and of calm and currents afterwards, which brought on an entire disorder, than to the admiralship, or even the vast superiority of Rodney, who had forty sail of the line against thirty, and five three deckers against one. By the account of some of the French officers, Rodney might as well have been asleep, not having made a signal during the battle, so that every Captain did as he pleased.

"The English are very deficient in signals as well as in naval tactic. This I know, having in my possession their present fighting and sailing instructions, which comprehend all their signals and evolutions. Lord Howe has, indeed, made some improvements by borrowing from the French. But Kempenfelt, who seemed to have been a more promising officer, had made a still greater improvement by the same means. It was said of Kempenfelt, when he was drowned in the Royal George, that England had lost her Du Pavillion. That great man, the Chevalier Du Pavillion, commanded the Triumphant and was killed in the last battle of Count de Grasse. France lost in him one of the greatest naval tacticians, and a man who had, besides, the honor (in 1773) to invent the new system of naval signal, by which sixteen hundred orders, questions, answers, and informations, can, without confusion or misconstruction, and with the greatest celerity, be communicated through a great fleet. It was his fixed opinion that a smaller number

of signals would be insufficient. A captain of the line at this day must be a tactician. A captain of a cruising frigate may make ship without ever having heard of naval tactics. Until I arrived in France and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers, and his judicious assistant, the Chevalier du Pavillion, who, each of them, honored me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been before that time of naval tactics.

"From the observations I have made and what I have read, it is my opinion, that in a navy there ought to be at least as many grades below a captain of the line as there are below a colonel of a regiment. Even the navy of France is deficient in subaltern grades, and has paid dearly for that error in its constitution, joined to another of equal magnitude, which authorizes ensigns of the navy to take charge of watch on board ships of the line. One instance may be sufficient to show this. The Zèlè in the night between the 11th and 12th of April, 1782, ran on board the Ville de Paris, which accident was the principal cause of the unfortunate battle that ensued next day between Count de Grasse and Admiral Rodney. That accident in all probability would not have happened had the deck of the Zèlè been at the time commanded by a steady experienced lieutenant of the line instead of a young ensign. The charge of the deck of a ship of the line should, in my judgment, never be intrusted to an officer under twenty-five years of age. At that time of life he may be supposed to have served nine or ten years—a term not

more than sufficient to have furnished him with the necessary knowledge for so great a charge. It is easy to conceive that the minds of officers must become uneasy, when they are continued too long in any one grade, which must happen (if regard be paid to the good of the service) where there are no more subaltern grades than midshipman and lieutenant. Would it not be wiser to raise young men by smaller steps, and to increase the number?

"I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy. We are a young people, and need not be ashamed to ask advice from nations older and more experienced in marine affairs than ourselves. This, I conceive, might be done in a manner that would be received as a compliment by several, or perhaps all the marine powers of Europe, and at the same time would enable us to collect such helps as would be of vast use when we come to form a constitution for the creation and government of our marine, the establishment and police of our dockyards, academies, hospitals, etc., and the general police of our seamen throughout the continent. These conditions induced me, on my return from the fleet of his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to propose to you to lay my ideas on the subject before Congress, and to propose sending a proper person to Europe in a handsome frigate, to display our flag in the ports of different marine powers, to offer them the free use of our ports, and propose to them commercial advantages, etc., and then to ask permission to visit their marine arsenals, to be informed how they are furnished both with men, provision, ma-

terials and war-like stores,—by what police and officers they are governed, how and from what resources they are fed, clothed and paid, etc., and the general police of their seaman and academies, hospitals, etc. If you still object to my project on account of the expense of sending a frigate to Europe, and keeping her there till the business can be effected, I think it may be done, though perhaps not with the same dignity, without a frigate. My plan for forming a proper corps of sea-officers is, by teaching them the naval tactics in a fleet of evolution. To lessen the expense as much as possible, I would compose that fleet of frigates instead of ships of the line; on board of each I would have a little academy, where the officers should be taught the principles of mathematics and mechanics, when off duty. When in port, the young officers should be obliged to attend the academies established at each dock-yard, where they should be taught the principles of every art and science that is necessary to form the character of a great sea officer. And every commissioned officer of the navy should have free access and be entitled to receive instruction gratis at those academies.

"All this would be attended with no very great expense, and the public advantage resulting from it would be immense. I am sensible it cannot be immediately adopted, and that we must first look about for ways and means; but the sooner it is adopted the better. We cannot, like the ancients, build a fleet in a month, and we ought to take example from what has lately befallen Holland. In time of peace it is necessary to prepare,

and be always prepared, for war by sea. I have had the honor to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics and police, that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war, and have in my last campaign seen them put in practice. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the America, as I had furnished myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture and other matters that relate to the establishment and police of dock-yards, etc. I, however, feel myself bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed."

Just as Captain Jones was about to assume command of the America, now almost completed, the French ship Magnifique, a powerful seventy-four gun ship belonging to the French government, met with an accident, the result of mismanagement, in Boston harbor, and to keep France in good humor and to retain her as an ally, Congress saw proper to present the ship America to his Majesty the King of France, just as it had done the Indian, built at Amsterdam. France was sorely in need of ships to defend her own coast cities against the British, and this act of liberality on the part of Congress was received everywhere with demonstrations of hearty approval. We can well imagine the disappointment this must have occasioned in the breast of Paul Jones, who was anticipating an early return to active service when the decision of Congress and the Marine Committee reached him at Portsmouth; but with the spirit of a true patriot he submitted to the action of his supe-

riors without a murmur. His disappointment at not being placed in command of the Indian after receiving the assurance of not only Franklin and the Marine Committee, but Congress as well, had in a measure prepared him for any contingency that could possibly arise. Jones was in a measure pacified by the receipt of many letters from eminent personages connected with the government in various capacities, such for example as Robert Morris, LaFayette, Washington, John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin and many others in high authority. Adams, in a letter to Paul Jones from The Hague dated Aug. 12, 1782, says: "If I could see a prospect of having half-dozen line-of-battleships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for a continuance of the war."

Robert Morris, in acknowledging a letter from Paul Jones says: "I have received your letter of the 22nd of last month. The sentiments contained in it will always reflect the highest honor upon your character. They have made so strong an impression upon my mind that I immediately transmitted an extract of your letter to Congress. I doubt not but that they will view it in the same manner that I have done."

"Your coming to the army I had the honor to command," says La Fayette, "would have been considered as a very flattering compliment to me who love you and know your worth. I am impatient to hear you are

ready to sail, and I am of opinion we ought to unite under you every continental ship we can muster, with such a body of well-appointed marines as might cut a good figure ashore; and then give you plenty of provision and *carte blanche.* I am sorry I cannot see you. I also had many things to tell you; you know my affectionate sentiments for you, so that I need not add anything on that subject."

In order to pacify his feelings, Congress acceded to the request of Captain Jones to go on board the French fleet, then cruising in American waters. He gave as his reason for wishing to pay a visit to the French fleet and especially to Marquis de Vaudreuil, that it was for improvement in his profession and to return in a measure the many courtesies extended to him by the Chevalier Luzerne and the Marquis de Vaudreuil while in Europe. His request was granted in the following resolution:

By the United States in Congress Assembled:

"Wednesday, December 4, 1782.

"*Resolved,* That the agent of marine be informed that Congress, having a high sense of the merit and services of Captain John Paul Jones, and being disposed to favor the zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly to the countenance of his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

Within a fortnight, Captain Jones had the pleasure of being once more on board a ship of war, but this time under the flag of France. No sooner had he become settled in his new position than peace came to the Colonies. Cornwallis had surrendered his sword to Washington, and the revolt of the Colonies against the parent country was brought to a glorious and successful ending at Yorktown, Va., on the 19th of October, 1781, and shortly thereafter the last ship flying the British flag took its leave from our shores.

Thus ended the long and embittered strife between a sturdy race of pioneers and a mother country possessing few of the natural instincts of a parent toward its offspring. Instead of a patrimony that is usually bestowed upon a child that goes forth to battle with life's currents, this despotic, this tyrannical parent sought to exact tribute from her justly rebellious children who had ceased to acknowledge filial "protection." Admitting the right of a parent to expect some consideration from her offspring, yet when that parent, by reason of strength, sought to coerce her children who were struggling for their rights amidst the dangers and privations of the wilderness, even now in the light of a century of national independence, we cannot but hold them guiltless of ingratitude.

Thus crowned with a victory, the memory of which still nettles the mother country, the thirteen Colonies sprang upon the arena of nations full formed and wrung from friend and foe the highest meed bestowed upon a youthful state.

The birth of a nation under auspices so favorable is

a spectacle as sublime as it is wonderful. The history of the past affords no instance of equal grandeur with the founding of the United States upon principles so broad, so magnanimous, and at so fearful a sacrifice, as to rival the grandest conception ever entered by Plato of his ideal Republic. A government so beneficent in all of its relations and purposes could never have had its inception in minds of ordinary mould.

CHAPTER XII.

PAUL JONES LEAVES AMERICA—ENTERS THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

That impatience of inactivity, which appears to have been an inherent quality in the ever active mind of Paul Jones, and which seemed never to have rested when there was an opportunity for employment, now induced him to solicit from Congress an appointment in Europe. There were still large sums of money due him and the men who aided in the capture of the Union, the Drake, the Countess of Scarborough, the Serapis, and numerous other vessels of various capacities that were then rotting in the ports of France, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Holland and the United States. Many attempts were made by Jones during the stormy days of the Revolution to collect the ships in foreign waters into one vast fleet, but failing in this he next endeavored to obtain a cash consideration from the governments who held them, because they were anchored in harbors of neutral powers and the belligerents had been warned not to seek shelter in harbors closed against warring nations. Now that the war was over and the American Colonies were free and independent, Jones felt that an appointment from Congress, authorizing him to collect this prize money could not



PAUL JONES INVESTED WITH THE ORDER OF MILITARY MERIT—
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fail to impress the powers with the importance of speedy action, and more especially when it became known that he would be assisted by the most eminent personages in France, among whom was the King and his Minister of Marine, M. de Sartin. Pursuant to a resolution of Congress, passed November 1st, 1783, Captain Jones was appointed "Agent for all the prizes taken in Europe."

Immediately after receiving this appointment he proceeded to Paris, where he was warmly received by his friend Franklin, who was still in charge of American interests in Europe, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. Captain Jones found social affairs the absorbing occupation in Paris and other French cities, and in renewing his former acquaintances in court circles and fashionable society, he felt that it would very materially aid him in his mission.

During the succeeding three or four years Jones became interested in a number of commercial enterprises, among which was the projection of a large fur trading company operating in British North America, Japan and the east coast of Asia. The expeditions were under the immediate charge of John Ledyard, who was associated with Jones in more than one ill-conceived enterprise. Like many other attempts of Captain Jones to improve his pecuniary interests this, his latest venture, proved equally as disastrous as other enterprises conceived by this brave and enterprising man.

During his long stay in Paris he was shown many favors and received additional honors and recognition

for his services in the cause of liberty. In acknowledgment of these courtesies, Jones caused his Journal, a record of his exploits and details of his connection with the American Navy, to be published, which together with his bust, which he had cast, he gave gratuitously to his most intimate acquaintances, including the King, de Sartin, d'Estaing, and LaFayette.

He was also successful in witnessing the settlement of the prize claims due him from the French Admiralty, but his reason for not proceeding to Denmark and Bergen, in Norway, is best expressed in the following letter to John Jay, written upon his return to America, in July, 1787:

To His Excellency John Jay, Esq., Minister of Foreign Affairs:

New York, July 8th, 1787.

Sir—The application I made for a compensation for our prizes through the Danish Minister in London not having succeeded, it was determined between Mr. Jefferson and myself, that the proper method to obtain satisfaction was for me to go in person to the Court of Copenhagen. It was necessary for me to see the Baron de Blome before I could leave France on that business, and he being absent on a tour in Switzerland, did not return to Paris till the beginning of last winter. I left Paris in the spring, and went as far as Brussels on my way to Copenhagen, when an unforeseen circumstance in my private affairs rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall in a few days re-

embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the Court of Denmark. It is my intention to go by the way of Paris, in order to obtain a letter to the French Minister at Copenhagen, from the Count de Montmorin, as the one I obtained is from the Count de Vergennes.

It would be highly flattering to me if I could carry a letter with me from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron he did us the honor to support under our flag. And on this occasion, sir, permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the Court of France, dated 30th of May, 1780. It would be pleasing to me if that letter should be found to merit a place on the Journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the Minister of Marine, when his Majesty designed to bestow on me a golden-hilted sword, emblematical of the happy alliance,—an honor which his Majesty never conferred on any other foreign officer. I owed the high favor I enjoyed at the Court of France in a great degree to the favorable testimony of my conduct, which had been communicated by his Majesty's ambassador, under whose eye I acted in the most critical situation in the Texel, as well as to the public opinion of Europe. And the letter with which I was honored by the Prime Minister of France, when I was about to return to America, is a clear proof that we might have drawn still greater advantages from the generous disposition of our ally, if our marine had not been lost whilst I was, under perplexing circumstances,

detained in Europe, after I had given the Count de Maurepas my plan for forming a combined squadron of ten or twelve sail of frigates, supported by the American, with a detachment of French troops on board; the whole at the expense of his Majesty.

It is certain that I am much flattered by receiving a gold sword from the most illustrious monarch now living; but I had refused to accept his commission on two occasions before that time, when some firmness was necessary to resist the temptation. He was not my sovereign; I served the cause of freedom, and honors from my sovereign would be more pleasing. Since the year 1775, when I displayed the American flag for the first time with my own hands, I have been constantly devoted to the interests of America. Foreigners have, perhaps, given me too much credit, and this may have raised my ideas of my services above their real value; but my zeal can never be over-rated.

I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose by a duty of a shilling per month from seaman's wages throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difficulty would be made to that requisition.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient and humble servant, JOHN PAUL JONES.

Although the Board of Treasury did not approve of the method of raising funds to defend the honor and dignity of the nation as suggested by Captain Jones, yet the Congress manifested its approval of his conduct and activity in promoting the interests of America by a unanimous resolution "that a gold medal should be struck, and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer while in command of a squadron of French and American ships, under the flag and commission of the States of America."

This was immediately followed by a letter of thanks to the King of France, dated New York, Oct. 16, 1787, expressing deep gratitude for his great solicitude for the welfare of America and his deep sense of personal regard for Captain Jones. "Permit us," concludes the letter, "to repeat to your Majesty, our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and your people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under His holy protection."

This letter was addressed "To His Most Christian Majesty, Louis, King of France and Navarre," and was handed to Jones to present to the King in person. The following day being Thursday, Captain Jones bid farewell to his many friends who had assembled to bid him a safe voyage, little thinking that he would never return to the shores of America, the land he loved so

much, and for which he sacrificed the best years of his life.

Dr. Franklin had resigned his commission to France, owing to extreme age and failing health, and had been succeeded by Thomas Jefferson. On arriving at Paris, Captain Jones lost no time in presenting his compliments to Mr. Jefferson, whom he had met on many occasions in Paris as well as in Philadelphia and New York. The Russian ambassador at Paris, M. de Simolin, whose apartments joined those of the American Embassy, had long admired the dashing and brilliant personality of the Chevalier Paul Jones; he proposed that the latter enter the Russian navy then assembling on the Black Sea in anticipation of an attack upon Constantinople.

There is no evidence to show that the Court of Russia or the Empress had ever thought of Jones as a naval commander for employment in her Black Sea squadron, or that Jones had ever considered service in any capacity after the American revolution was brought to a glorious ending. Seeing an opportunity for active employment again, however, Jones hastened to assure the Russian ambassador at Paris of his desire to enter the service of Catherine, Empress of all the Russias, but that he must first proceed to London and from there to Copenhagen and Bergen to settle the affair of prize money still pending in the courts of these capitals.

His stay in the Danish capital was both pleasant and of long duration. Through the instrumentality of the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, Baron Krudner, and on presentation of letters from M. de Simolin, Mr.

Jefferson and others at Paris, The Hague and London, Jones was as graciously received by the King and Royal family of Denmark as he had been in other capitals of Europe. In his Journal he speaks very flatteringly of the receptions tendered him by every member of the royal family and one in particular, at which he was the guest of honor and at which upwards of one hundred ministers of state, foreign ambassadors, court dignitaries and the Royal Family were present.

Even while courting these royal favors, he was secretly planning his entrance into the Russian navy. Baron Krudner had opened the way for direct communication with the Empress, which Jones made haste to avail himself of.

Owing to his ability to complete the treaty of commerce pending between Denmark and the United States, and to effect a settlement with regard to the long unsettled prize money, Jones was chafing under enforced restraint. He had formally tendered his services to M. de Simolin for immediate employment in the Russian navy, and the same having been accepted by the Empress his patience was daily becoming exhausted. The following letter from the empress showed Jones the only way out of his perplexing difficulty, and he was not long in reaching a conclusion as to his future plans:

John Paul Jones, Esquire, in care Baron Krudner, Copenhagen:

Sir—A courier from Paris has just brought from my Envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter

to Count Besborodko. As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have not even made a copy so anxious am I that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you that you are to be connected only with those who are most favorably disposed towards you. I have no doubt but that on your side you will fully justify the opinion which we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation and the name you have acquired for valor and skill on the element in which you are to serve.

Adieu.
I wish you happiness and health.

CATHERINE.

The letter referred to by the Empress was from M. de Simolin to Count de Besborodko, and appears in full in the Journal kept by Jones in the chapter devoted to "Correspondence pertaining to M. de Simolin and the navy of her Imperial Highness, Catherine of Russia." It is in brief as follows:

The letter with which your Excellency favored me on the 16th of February, was delivered by M. Poliranoff. By it I was informed of the resolution of her Imperial Majesty on the subject of the engagement with the Chevalier Paul Jones; and the same day Lieutenant-Colonel de Baner, who was dispatched from St. Elizabeth, by Prince Potemkin on the 9th of March, brought me two letters, the subject of one of which was

the said Chevalier Jones, whom he requested me to induce to repair to his headquarters as quickly as possible, that he might employ his talents at the opening of the campaign; and assure him that in entering the service, he (Potemkin) would do all that depended on him to make his situation pleasant and advantageous and certainly procure for him occasions in which he might display his skill and valor.

Captain Jones was not long in effecting a settlement with the Danish Government concerning the prize money, nor was he long in concluding an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States which is substantially in effect today.

About the middle of April Jones received a long letter from Baron Krudner, written shortly after the latter's return from St. Petersburg, expressing the highest satisfaction in being permitted to carry the commission from his Sovereign "to the famous Paul Jones." The following is but an extract of the Baron's letter, but it denotes a foregone conclusion that the invitation to accept a command in the Russian navy, gave Jones what he desired most—"an active command with prospects of immediate service."

"I am much disappointed," writes the Baron, "at not meeting you at Court, as I had promised myself, but a slight indisposition prevented me from going abroad; besides I have been agreeably occupied in writing letters. My Sovereign learned with pleasure the acquisition which she has made in your great talents. I have her commands for your acceptance of the grade of Captain Commandant, with the rank of Major General,

in her service, and that you should proceed as soon as your affairs permit; the intention of her Imperial Majesty being to give you a command in the Black Sea and under the orders of Prince Potemkin, from the opening of the campaign. The immortal glory by which you have illustrated your name cannot make you indifferent to the fresh laurels you must gather in the new career which opens to you. I have the honor of being on this occasion the interpreter of those sentiments of esteem with which for a long period your brilliant exploits have inspired her Imperial Majesty. Under a Sovereign so magnanimous, in pursuing glory, you need not doubt of the most distinguished rewards and that every advantage of fortune will await you."

Jones sought the office and rank of Rear-Admiral in the Russian navy, but not being assured that his request would be granted, doubtless because he had not held a similar rank in the navy of the United States, he wrote Mr. Jefferson: "If Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was in America and should condescend to confer on me the grade of Rear-Admiral, from the day I took the Serapis (September 23rd, 1779, exactly nine years before) I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never had the honor to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could merit her Imperial benevolence. The rank I mention of the approbation of that honorable body (Congress), would be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire

the necessary talents to merit that and even greater favors at a future day. I pray you, sir, to explain the circumstances to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted what is natural to conceive: That the mark of approbation I mention could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going."

About this time Jones received from the King of Denmark a "patent" or a life annuity amounting to 1,500 Danish crowns, "for," the pension read, "the respect you (Jones) had shown to the Danish flag while cruising in the North Seas." For some years after the awarding of this unsolicited pension, Jones neither accepted of its provisions nor made known the existence of such a grant to his countrymen in America, and had his affairs prospered after his entrance into the Russian navy no one would have been aware of this generous bequest on the part of the Danish Monarch or its refusal by the proud Yankee Commander. However, by the advice of certain distinguished American friends of Jones' to whom he made known the existence of this pension, he was persuaded to accept a small portion of the fund that had assumed large proportions since it was granted.

In the preliminary chapter of this work it was proposed to tell the story of Paul Jones so far as he helped to liberate the Colonies from British tyranny. Having concluded this much in the life-story of the founder of the American navy, the reader will not be wearied by a lengthy recital of uninteresting details of an un-

eventful campaign on the Black Sea and adjacent waters between the allied forces of Russia and Poland on the one hand and those of the Porte on the other. To the reader, however, who wishes to follow the career of our hero in all of his various campaigns and exploits during the succeeding years of his activity, it will be necessary to procure a copy of the "Journal of the Campaign of the Liman in 1788, drawn up by Rear-Admiral Jones for the perusal of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias." Parts of this voluminous diary have been published in every work purporting to be a Life of Chevalier John Paul Jones, but believing a history of this period of his intensely active career has little interest to the average American, it has not been thought necessary to recount it here.

As has been noted, his connection with the Russian navy was not without its pains and its penalties. Nowhere in public life do petty jealousies exist to a greater extent than in the army and navy, and with Jones the Russian service was no exception. In placing him in command of the Wolodimer with the rank of Rear-Admiral, not only were all the under officers offended by being superseded by a foreigner, but the few who outranked Jones refused to confer with him when united action was desired because of the apparent slight shown their fellow officers. Again, the campaign against the Turks was drawing to a close—the siege of Sebastopol had been raised, and not only Cherson, but the Crimea had been saved to Russia through the individual efforts of Paul Jones. These combined causes

rendered Jones unpopular with every officer beneath the rank of Admiral.

On the question of employing foreign officers, as well as to justify his conduct while in the service of Catherine, we will conclude his connection with the Russian navy by quoting from the Journal of the Liman:

It is said that Russia has no longer need of foreign naval officers. No one is more desirous than myself that this may be so, for I cannot be jealous of any one, and I must ever desire the prosperity of a country I have served. I may, however, be allowed to notice, that this opinion is not of very ancient date. If this had been believed before the last campaign, why were my services so anxiously sought after? It assuredly could not have been in compliment to me, nor in order afterwards to make use of me in promoting certain political designs. I have frequently heard, that, since the war broke out with Sweden, measures have been taken to induce Rear-Admiral Kinsbergen to quit Holland, and re-enter the service of Russia. His countrymen allege that he had been offered the rank of vice-admiral, the Order of Alexander Nevsky, and a fixed revenue of 20,000 roubles a year; and that he had refused all these advantages, as he had lately married a wife with a fortune which enabled him to live in independence in his own country.

It is known that the King of Sweden made advantageous offers to Admiral Curtis, of the English navy, to induce him to take command of the fleet against Russia; and that this officer declined them, not wishing to hazard his professional reputation in command

of a fleet which was not in so good a condition as that of England.

The Empress will do me the justice to remember that when I entered her service I did not say one word regarding my personal interests. I have a soul too noble for that; and if my heart had not been devoted to her Majesty, I would never have drawn my sword in her cause. I have now nothing for it but, like Admiral Kinsbergen, to marry a rich wife; but I have sufficient to support me wherever I choose, and I have seen enough of the world to be a philosopher. When I arrived at the Black Sea, if reasons much stronger than those which withheld Admiral Curtis had not influenced my mind and heart, which were devoted to the Empress, I would never have hoisted my flag on board the Wolodimer. I would have refused the poor command offered me, and which was not worthy of me. I have never puffed of my own action nor given any piece to the press containing my own panegyric.

I respect the names of Kinsbergen and Curtis, but the first duty of a gentleman is to respect his own character; and I believe, without vanity, that the name of Paul Jones is of as much value as theirs. It is thirty years since I entered the navy, and I have had for friends and instructors a d'Orvilliers and a Du Pavillon. Unfortunately, Prince Potemkin never gave himself the trouble to know me.

I had the happiness to be loved by my officers and men, because I treated them justly, and set them a good example in fight. After I ceased to command, though the campaign only lasted a few days, the sea-

men soon found the difference. They said they had lost their father; they were immediately served with bad provisions.

I have already noticed that Prince Potemkin had promised, in presence of Admiral Mordwinoff, to advance the officers under my command, and to restore to them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of the officers of the flotilla; but I have learned with much pain that he had not kept his word, and that in consequence my officers, to the number of fifty, have demanded their dismission. Not one of them offered to resign while I held command. Admiral Woinowitch having represented to Prince Potemkin that without these officers the fleet was useless, he was compelled to advance them all. I have been told that they were not yet satisfied, as they were not restored to their seniority, and that they proposed to quit the service at the end of the year. I hope justice will be done them, for they are brave men. For myself I have been marked out from every other officer that served in the Liman; I alone have obtained no promotion, though I commanded and was alone responsible! I may be told that I ought to be satisfied with having received the rank of Rear-Admiral on entering the service. I reply, that I could not have been offered an inferior grade. One officer may deserve as much in a day as another in a lifetime, and every officer ought to be advanced according to his merits. I was not favored in rank on entering the Russian service. I had a full right to obtain that which I accepted. A man, only twenty-four years of age, has since been received into the service with the rank of major-gen-

eral. I wish to say nothing against this officer; it is not always years that give skill, much less genius, but he must do a great deal before he has my experience.

It is painful for the honor of human nature to reflect on how many malevolent and deceitful persons surround the great, and particularly crowned heads. I speak from my own unhappy experience. Some persons had the malice to make Prince Potemkin believe that I made unhandsome strictures on his military conduct, and ridiculed his manner of conducting the siege of Oczahow. I have heard a great deal said on this subject, and I am aware that it excited considerable discontent in the army. I was told, during my illness at Cherson, that a thousand of his officers had demanded their dismission; but I defy any one to say to my face that I ever allowed myself to criticise his operations. I have been strongly attached to him, of which I have given proofs during my command, and even after he unjustly superseded me. There is evidence of this in my letter of the 7th of November, at a time when I certainly had reason to complain of his conduct.

I have been deeply injured by those secret machinations in the opinion of the Empress. My enemies have had the wickedness to make her believe that I was a cruel and brutal man; and that I had, during the American war, even killed my own nephew!

It is well known that from motives of revenge, the English have invented and propagated a thousand fictions and atrocities to stain, wound and injure the celebrated men who effected the American revolution:—a



GOLD MEDAL, PRESENTED TO JOHN PAUL JONES BY CONGRESS

Washington and a Franklin, two of the most illustrious and virtuous men that have ever adorned humanity, have not been spared by these calumniators. Are they now the less respected on this account by their fellow-citizens? On the contrary, they are universally revered, even in Europe, as the fathers of their country, and as examples of all that is great and noble in the human character.

In civil wars it is not wonderful that opposite factions should mutually endeavor to make it be believed that each is in the right; and it is obvious that the party most in the wrong will always be the most calumnious. If there had really been anything against my character, the English would not have failed to furnish convincing proofs of it. I was known, with very slender means, to have given more alarm to their three kingdoms during the war than any other individual had done.

I have heard that at the period of my entering the Russian service, the English in St. Petersburg cried out against me, and asserted that I had been a contraband trader. All the world knows that men of this description are actuated entirely by avarice; and every one to whom I have the honor to be known is aware that I am one of the least selfish of mankind. This is known to the whole American people. I have given proofs of it not easily shown, of which I possess very flattering testimonies. In a letter written on the 29th November, 1782, to Congress, by Mr. Morris, minister of the marine and finance departments, after having made my eulogium with the warmth of a true patriot, who thor-

oughly knew me, he says, that 'I had certainly merited the favor of Congress by services and sacrifices the most signal.' Men do not change their characters in these respects.

If my heart had bled for the Americans,—above all, for those shut up as victims in English prisons by an act of Parliament as sanguinary as unjust,—if I have exposed my health and my life to the greatest dangers,—if I had sacrificed my personal tranquillity and my domestic happiness, with a portion of my fortune and my blood, to set at liberty these virtuous and innocent men,—have I not given proofs sufficiently striking that I have a heart the most tender, a soul the most elevated? I have done more than all this. So far from being *harsh* and *cruel,* nature has given me the mildest disposition. I was formed for love and friendship, and not to be a seaman or a soldier, to which I have sacrificed my natural inclination.

As an officer I love good discipline, which I consider indispensable to the success of operations, particularly at sea, where men are brought into such close contact. In the English navy it is known that captains of ships are often tyrants, who order the lash for the poor seamen very frequently for nothing. In the American navy we have almost the same regulations; but I look on my crew as my children, and I have always found means to manage them without flogging.

I never had a nephew, nor any other relation, under my command. Happily these facts are known in America, where cruel calumnies are not believed. I have one dear nephew who is still too young for service,

but who now pursues his studies. Since I came to Russia I have intended him for the Imperial Marine. Instead of imbruing my hands in his blood he will be cherished as my son.

In short, my conduct has obtained for me the returns most grateful to my heart. I have had the happiness to give universal satisfaction to two great and enlightened nations which I have served. Of this I have received singular proofs. I am the only man in the world that possesses a sword given by the King of France. It is to me a glorious distinction to wear it; and above all, to have received it as a proof of the particular esteem of a monarch so august,—a monarch who has declared himself the Protector of the rights of the human race, and who adds to this glorious title that of citizen! I have indelible proofs of the high consideration of the United States; but what completes my happiness is the esteem and friendship of the most virtuous of men, whose fame will be immortal; and that a Washington, a Franklin, a D'Estaing, a LaFayette, think the bust of Paul Jones worthy of being placed side by side with their own.

Since I am found too frank and too sincere to make my way at the Court of Russia without creating powerful enemies, I have philosophy enough to withdraw into the peaceful bosom of friendship; but, as I love virtue better than reward, and as my greatest ambition is to preserve, even in the shades of retreat, the precious favor of the empress, I may tell her Majesty, that, even in the midst of my persecutions, my mind was occupied by plans for the essential advancement of her

service, of which I gave some idea to her minister in June last (1789.) I have not entered into details, for there are politicians who before now have robbed me of my military plans. I have other projects in view from which the flag of Russia might derive new luster, and which would cause but little expense to her Majesty at the outset, and perhaps nothing in the end, if I had the direction; for I would be able to make war support war. Whatever be the issue, I have the satisfaction of having done my duty in Russia, and that without any views of self-interest. It is affirmed, that, in general, strangers who come to Russia are adventurers in search of fortune, not having the means of living in their own country. I cannot say as to this; but I at least hope that the Empress will not class me with those.

Briefly, I am satisfied with myself; and I have the happiness to know, that, though my enemies may not be converted into friends, my name will nevertheless be always respected by worthy men who know me; and it is to me a satisfaction and a signal triumph at the moment of my leaving Russia, that the public, and even the English in St. Petersburg, with whom I had no connection, have now changed their sentiments in regard to me, give me their esteem, and regret my departure.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAUL JONES IN PARIS.

The Empress had granted Admiral Jones a two years' leave of absence with pay belonging to his military rank, which was named at 1,800 roubles, or about $900 per year. This, in addition to the pension granted by the Danish government, should have placed him in affluent circumstances, as incomes went in those days.

The reader has been spared both the time and the mortification of reading the charges preferred against the character of Paul Jones, which found credence with the Empress who had temporarily dismissed him from her service upon hearing these charges preferred, and commanded him not to appear again at court. Through his friend, Count de Segur, who had voluntarily procured sufficient evidence to brand the authors of the plot to vilify his character as infamous adventurers and political enemies, Jones was recalled by the Empress, but only for a brief time.

Shortly after his recall to St. Petersburg, he wrote Mr. Jefferson, then a member of Washington's Cabinet: "I can only inform you that I returned here by special desire of the Empress, but I know not as yet how or where I am to be employed for the next cam-

paign. I mentioned in my last, as my opinion, that if the new government of America determines to chastise the Algerines, I think it now a favorable moment to conclude a treaty with Russia. The Turks and Algerians were combined against us on the Black Sea. The United States could grant leave for Russia to enlist American seamen and, making a common cause with Russia in the Mediterranean, might at the peace obtain a free navigation from and to the Black Sea. Such a connection might lead to various advantages in the commerce between the two nations."

It is not known whether Mr. Jefferson replied to Admiral Jones in reference to the misconduct of the Algerians, but it is certain that nothing was done for some years looking to an ending of the piratical depredations on the part of Tripoli, Algiers, Morocco and other states along the Mediterranean.

Early in September, 1788, Jones left St. Petersburg for Warsaw, but with France ultimately as his objective point. Before his departure from the Russian capital he was admitted to the presence of the Empress, who permitted him to kiss her hand, a custom accorded all, however, who are admitted to the presence of royalty. She had previously decorated him with the insignia of the order of St. Anne, and now took occasion to compliment him upon his meritorious conduct while in her service during the campaign of 1788.

Jones did not remain long in Poland, as private affairs in France and England required his immediate presence there. During his stay in Warsaw he renewed his former acquaintance with the Polish patriot,

General Thaddeus Kosciusko, who lived "in proud independence, superior to fortune and to king." Several interesting letters passed between these two defenders of American liberty, one in particular from Kosciusko, long delayed in transit, in which the patriot asks the name of the American Minister at Paris and many other questions relating to political affairs concerning America. A reply dated at Amsterdam, March 16th, 1790, answered fully all these questions, at the same time reiterating his desire to re-enter the service of the Empress at the end of his two years' leave. To this delusive hope he clung to the very close of his intensely active life.

While in Holland, Jones found ample leisure to carry on an extensive correspondence with friends in America, France, Russia and Norway, and to strive to reestablish himself in the good opinion of many acquaintances in St. Petersburg. He had not forgotten the universal regard the American people had for him, nor the confidence and esteem in which he was held by Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Morris, Ross, St. Clair and others then enjoying peace and a full measure of prosperity in the land they helped to deliver from British tyranny.

During the winter of 1789 and 1790, innumerable letters bearing the postmarks Amsterdam and The Hague, found their way to all countries where the Admiral had even temporarily lived. Those pertaining to America, and directed to those personages whose names are dear to the hearts of all who reverence the flag and cherish the cause that made possible the im-

mortal Declaration of Independence, and the adoption of the Constitution, are of especial importance, and merit a place in this brief sketch:

AMSTERDAM, December 20, 1789.

To General George Washington, President of the States of America:

SIR—I avail myself of the departure of the Philadelphia packet, Captain Earle, to transmit to your Excellency a letter I received for you on leaving Russia in August last, from my friend, the Count de Segur, Minister of France at St. Petersburg. That gentleman and myself have frequently conversed on subjects that regard America; and the most pleasing reflection of all has been the happy establishment of the new constitution, and that you are so deservedly placed at the head of the government by the unanimous voice of America. Your name alone, sir, has established in Europe a confidence that was for some time before entirely wanting in American concerns; and I am assured that the happy effects of your administration are still more sensibly felt throughout the United States. This is more glorious for you than all the laurels that your sword so nobly won in support of the rights of human nature. In war, your fame is immortal as the hero of Liberty! In peace, you are her patron, and the firmest supporter of her rights! Your greatest admirers, and even your best friends, have now but one wish left for you,—that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness.

Mr. Jefferson can inform you respecting my mission

to the Court of Denmark. I was received and treated there with marked politeness; and if the *fine words* I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe. I acquitted myself of the commission with which you honored me when last in America, by delivering your letters with my own hands at Paris to the persons to whom they were addressed.

He also wrote Franklin and Mr. Ross. Both of these letters have interest:

AMSTERDAM, December 27, 1789.

To John Ross, Esquire, Philadelphia:

DEAR SIR—I beg leave to refer you to Doctor Franklin or to General St. Clair for an explanation of my reasons for having left Russia. I have by this opportunity sent to those gentlemen testimonies in French that cannot fail to justify me in the eyes of my friends in America.

You have no doubt been informed, perhaps by Mr. Parish, of the unhandsome conduct of Le Conteulex and Company with regard to the letter of credit you gave me on them when I was last in America, for six thousand livres. As I was landed in England instead of France, I went to London to make an arrangement with Dr. Bancroft for supplying the expense of my mission to Denmark. He promised to place funds for my use at Amsterdam. I went to Paris and took a letter of credit from La Conteulex on Amsterdam by

way of precaution. On my arrival at Amsterdam I found that Bancroft had not kept his word, nor even wrote me a line. I then depended on the credit that Le Conteulex had, without the least difficulty, given me in an open letter; but his correspondent informed me he had received orders to pay me nothing till more explicit and satisfactory accounts should be received from you. I had then no funds in my hands, and if I had not the fortune to be immediately relieved from a quarter on which I had no claim, I should have found myself in great distress.

I should be glad to know the state of the bank, etc., though I at present want no remittance. My address is, *under cover,* to Messrs. N. and J. Van-Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam. Present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Ross and the young ladies. I may perhaps return to America in the latter end of the summer, and in that case I shall wish to purchase a *little farm,* where I may live in peace. I am always affectionately yours,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

N. B.—I presume you have received my bust, as Mr. Jefferson has forwarded it for you.

AMSTERDAM, December 27, 1789.

To His Excellency B. Franklin, Esq.

Dear Sir:—The enclosed documents from my friend, the Count de Segur, Minister Plenipotentiary of France at St. Petersburg, will explain to you in some degree my reasons for leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed by the dark intrigues and mean subter-

fuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice. Your former friendship for me, which I remember with particular satisfaction, and have ever been ambitious to merit, will, I am sure, be exerted in the kind use you will make of the three pieces I now send you, for my justification in the eyes of my friends in America, whose good opinion is dearer to me than anything else. I wrote to the Empress from Warsaw in the beginning of October, with a copy of my Journal, which will show Her Majesty how much she has been deceived by the account she had of our maritime operations last campaign. I can easily prove to the world that I have been treated unjustly; but I intend to remain silent at least till I know the fate of my Journal.

I shall remain in Europe till after the opening of the next campaign, and perhaps longer, before I return to America. From the troubles in Brabant, and the measures now pursued by the King of Prussia, etc., I presume that peace is yet a distant object, and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done. On the death of Admiral Greig, I was last year called from the Black Sea by the Empress to command a squadron in the Baltic. This set the invention of all my enemies and rivals at work, and the event has proved that the Empress cannot always do as she pleases. If you do me the favor to write to me, my address is, *under cover,* to Messieurs N. and J. Van Stophorst and Hubbard at Amsterdam.

I am, with sincere affection, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

N. B.—It is this day ten years since I left the Texel in the Alliance.

PARIS, December 7, 1791.

To the Marquis de La Fayette.

Dear General:—My ill health for some time past has prevented me from the pleasure of paying you my personal respects, but I hope shortly to indulge myself with that satisfaction.

I hope you approve of the quality of the fur-linings I brought from Russia for the King and yourself. I flatter myself that His Majesty will accept from your hand that little mark of the sincere attachment I feel for his person, and be assured that I shall be always ready to draw the sword with which he honored me for the service of the virtuous and illustrious "protector of the rights of human nature."

When my health shall be re-established, M. Simolin will do me the honor to present me to His Majesty as a Russian Admiral. Afterwards it will be my duty, as an American officer, to wait on His Majesty with the letter which I am directed to present to him from the United States.

I am, dear General, with sincere friendship, your affectionate and most humble servant,

PAUL JONES.

During the rest of that year, all of the following, and until quite late in the spring of 1792, Jones passed the time looking after matters of personal concern in London, Paris, Amsterdam and The Hague. He found

life in the gay capital of France much to his liking, and aside from brief journeys abroad, the whole of the two years since leaving St. Petersburg was passed in Paris. His chief occupation seems to have been that of letter writing, with occasional entries in his Journal, principally concerning his health, which was far from good.

His last appeal to the Empress for reinstatement in the Russian navy was made on the second anniversary of the date appearing on his "Leave of Absence." No mention in this part of his Journal is made of an acknowledgment from the Empress, and it is therefore evident that no attention was paid to its receipt. She afterwards wrote Baron Grimm at Paris, that there was a prospect for an early termination of the war with the Turks, and that should something then unforeseen arise that required his services she would make known her wishes respecting Paul Jones through the Baron.

Jones' final letter to the Empress, though not a lengthy epistle, was written with much care and with due regard for his patron's exalted station, as inferred from the length of time that elapsed between the beginning and the conclusion. It is as follows:

PARIS, 1792.
25th Feb.,
8th March,

To Her Imperial Majesty of All the Russias,
Catherine II., St. Petersburg.

Madam:—If I could imagine that the letter which

I had the honor to write to your Majesty from Warsaw, the 25th September, 1789, had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me to beg you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed, which *accuse* no person, and the only intent of which is to let you see that in the important campaign of the Liman, the part which I played was not either that of a zero or of a harlequin, who required to be made a colonel at the tail of his regiment. I have in my hands the means to prove, incontestably, that I directed all the useful operations against the Captain, Pacha. The task which was given to me at this critical conjunction was very difficult. I was obliged to sacrifice my own opinion and risk my military reputation for the benefit of your empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of the subsequent arrangements, of which I am persuaded you have not been acquainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your Majesty has often done me the honor to repeat to me before my departure for the Black Sea, and in the letter which you deigned to write to me afterwards, has been the rule of my conduct, and the faithful attachment with which you had inspired me for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote to you from Warsaw; for I confess that I was extremely afflicted, and even offended, at having received a parole for two years in time of war—a parole which it has never entered into mind to wish for, and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America, or even to Denmark, where I had important

business, for I had always hoped to be usefully employed in your service, before the expiration of this parole, which has done me so much injury, and although in public I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, yet I was unfortunately led to believe the repeated promises made me, that I should have a private audience in order to lay before you my military projects, and to speak of them in detail.

I hope that the brilliant success with which Providence has blessed your arms will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood, but in a contrary case your Majesty can be well instructed from my project, No. 12, of the last year.

As I have my enemies, and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your Majesty, and should be flattered, if it is your pleasure for me to come and render you an account in person. Mr. ———, who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders; I therefore pray you to withdraw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed. Should you deign, Madam, to inform me that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment and ambition, but not for interest. My fortune, as you know, is not very considerable, but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall be always rich.

I have the honor to be, Madam, Of your Imperial Majesty, the most faithful and obedient servant,

PAUL JONES.



CATHERINE II., EMPRESS OF RUSSIA

CHAPTER XIV.

DEATH OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

The most authentic information concerning the movements of Admiral Jones is obtained from his very complete Journal and yet more voluminous correspondence. It is from these two sources that we know for a certainty that he was never recalled by the Empress, who had taken this unscrupulous means of terminating his connection with the navy. He was given no further opportunity to disprove the charges made against his character as a man, though his standing as a soldier and defender of the rights of man stood unimpeached. While it is thought the Empress was fully convinced of his innocence, still public sentiment, and the powerful influence of British residents in St. Petersburg made his re-employment in the Russian service impracticable.

The Empress had acted against the advice of many of her ministers and political advisers and in defiance of the threats of the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg in employing Jones in any capacity when his name was suggested for the service by de Simolin, Besborodko and others high in authority; but at the outbreak of disturbances along the Black Sea, the Empress was anxious to obtain the services of the best naval commanders from the navies of the world, and no name

reflected greater glory among the friends of liberty and human rights, or created greater consternation among his enemies, than that of John Paul Jones. Besides it was known that he was friendly disposed toward Turkey through a close friendship which existed between himself and Captain Pacha of the Sultan's Imperial guards, and being of a roving disposition and likely to seek employment in the service of the Sultan, Catherine waived all opposition and gladly tendered him an Admiralty in her service.

While in Paris during the winter of 1787 and 1788, Admiral Jones formed the acquaintance of the Turkish Ambassador and Captain Pacha, and it was through Mr. Jefferson that Jones entered the service of Russia instead of proceeding to Constantinople with his friend Captain Pacha. Even while in the service of Russia, we find Jones adopting the Turkish mode of dress, reclining while partaking of his meals, and other customs peculiar to the followers of Mahomet. In a letter to Baron de la Houze, the French Minister at Denmark, Jones writes concerning Captain Pacha: "I have much to tell you respecting the 'moustaches of the good Captain Pacha;' he is a very brave man and the public have been much deceived as to our affairs with him."

The two years' leave of absence was given Captain Jones with the hope and full expectation that before its termination, all differences between Russia and Turkey would be at an end and his services no longer required. Baron Grimm was to be the interpreter of her Majesty's wishes concerning the re-employment of

Admiral Jones, but the distance between Paris and St. Petersburg being great, the mode of travel in those days tedious and seldom without incident, all tending to cause delays, Jones decided to make a last personal appeal to the Empress, and for that purpose hastened to St. Petersburg by the way of Berlin and the Baltic.

His leave of absence had expired less than a fortnight when he reached the Russian Capital, and when the Empress learned of his presence and the purpose of his mission, she positively refused him an audience, hinting at the same time that his presence in St. Petersburg was obnoxious to British, Turkish, and other foreign potentates temporarily sojourning in Russia.

We can imagine with what disappointment, what heartburnings, this brave man, now broken in health and spirit, turned his face again toward Paris, which was to witness the final scene of his struggle against unsurmountable difficulties and powerful enemies, all working for his undoing. Why he did not come to America and spend the remainder of his days in retirement among the people who loved him for his worth is explained only on the grounds of his intensely active nature—a longing for a return to sea service. His frequent visits to Paris, each of long duration, showed his preference for kingly favor while basking in the sunshine of the gaities of the French capital.

The closing chapter of this intensely active life is briefly told. While some of the numerous biographers dilate upon the domestic side of his life, so little material is furnished in his voluminous papers and journals concerning the affairs of heart that the author is

inclined to pass this phase of the life-history of this truly wonderful man as too trivial to merit more than a passing notice.

The correspondence between him and his many fair admirers yet preserved by his descendants in Scotland, amounts to little more than the exchanges of kindnesses and civilities.

Being early separated from his relatives through a fondness for the sea, and afterward by the adoption of war as his "sole occupation and method of delight," he never had time to cultivate the art of domestic felicity. Few of his letters contain any observations on men or manners, or even the expression of an opinion not strictly professional. The few of his strictly confidential letters which exist, do, however unfold his character in a very amiable way, especially those written to Lady Selkirk, whom he never met, and to the mysterious Delia, and one or two other brilliant women whom the Admiral met during his triumphant tour through France just after the memorable battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, and at a time when the name of Paul Jones was on everybody's tongue.

It is said that shortly after entering the American navy, in 1776, Captain Jones fell desperately in love with a lady then living at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Their affection was mutual, but circumstances intervened which prevented their union. It was then that Jones resolved never to marry, and circumstances ever afterward favored the resolution he made at this time. During the stormy days of the Revolution there

were few men in the colonies who paused long enough to consider the problem of marriage, not knowing the fate in store for them or their posterity. Domestic enjoyment was deferred until peace and complete independence had been secured.

The last letter of importance known to have been written by Jones is dated March 28, 1792, and is addressed to the Minister of Marine at Paris. Only a part of the letter has been preserved, but enough is here given to set forth the character and deplorable conduct of those to whom the defenders of national honor looked for substantial aid in times of war.

PARIS, March, 28, 1792.

To the Minister of French Marine.

Sir:—In the beginning of the administration of your predecessor, I informed him, that this government, not having paid the salary due to a part of the crew of the Bon Homme Richard at the time when they were discharged from the service, they had been paid on their arrival at Boston, and having myself been sent back here after the war, under a special commission from the United States, to settle the claims of my crew, I presented a memorial, reclaiming that part of the salary that had never been reimbursed. The Minister held me in suspense for about five months, and then, to my great surprise, instead of satisfying my just demand, he addressed me in a very uncivil letter, treating me as I conceive, like a school-boy, and permitting himself to cast unjust and uncivil reflections on my past conduct. My health did not permit me to

answer immediately, but I had prepared a letter, and was just going to send it, when I learned that he had resigned his place as the Minister of Marine, and that you were named as his successor.

I request the favor, Sir, that you may read his letter and my answer; after which I persuade myself you will do justice to my first demand, which is merely official. As to my personal pretentions, I never should have set up a claim on that score under circumstances less effecting to my sensibility. Of this I need offer no other proof than my silence in that respect for twelve years past. My losses and unavoidable expenses during my long connection with this nation amount to a large sum, and have greatly lessened my fortune.

The letter is too lengthy for reproduction here, and is, in brief, a summary of events fully set forth in this book from the hour of his taking command of the Ranger. He concludes by saying: "Permit me, by way of comparison, just to mention the treatment the French officers received who served in the American army. The war had been carried on for several years by the Americans alone, and there is no instance where the United States invited a French officer to enter into their service. Such as presented themselves and were accepted, have all of them bettered their situation by that connection. At the end of the war they received a gratification of five years' pay, the Order of Cincinnatus, and a lot of land, and they now enjoy grades far superior to what they could have attained under other circumstances. If we except the Marquis de La Fayette, none of them were rich when they went to America. They

are all now in easy circumstances. In short, they have been treated much better than the Americans themselves, who served from the beginning to the end of the Revolution."

At about the time Jones was preparing this lengthy letter to the Minister of Marine, which also was intended for the perusal of the King in the pages of his journal, Congress, at the direction of Jefferson, and doubtless approved by Washington, Franklin, Deane and others high in official life in the young Republic, had appointed Jones Consul to Algiers. By the time the commission reached Paris, however, Jones was too wasted with disease to fully appreciate the tardy recognition on the part of the country he served so faithfully. His health was rapidly failing; he was no longer able to leave his bed, and though his illness only lasted a month or so, the end came on the evening of the 18th of July, 1792. On the afternoon of July 20th his remains were interred privately in the Rue de la Grange, an old churchyard located in what was then the suburbs of Paris. There were present, either during his last hours or at his burial, the Russian and American Ambassadors, Mr. Simolin and Gouverneur Morris, Colonels Beaupoil, Swan and Blackden, the notary, Mr. Badinéu and Jones' executor Robert Morris.

In view of these established facts it would seem hardly probable that the remains of the founder and first admiral of the American navy should remain hidden away beneath the squalid tenements which now occupy a part of the Rue de la Grange.

CHAPTER XV.

ESTIMATES OF HIS CHARACTER.

No public man of modern times has been the object of greater persecution and vilification of character than Paul Jones, and almost without reason, too.

His youth was passed in the company of seafaring men. Being early apprenticed to that profession which carried with it adventure and hardships on sea and land he never knew the pleasures of boyhood. From such a childhood and its environs, from a position as an apprentice to mate on slaving ships, where polite society and the softening influence of women and men of refinement are unknown, was a natural sequence; our only wonder is that more crimes were not laid at his door, or that his ambition to carve for himself a destiny that should increase in glory as generations pass, was ever realized.

The charge of murder was disproved by trial in London before a British jury. Smuggling was scarcely considered a crime, though the nations of the world discountenanced it because it did not yield that revenue necessary to support a corrupt court or an extravagant Congress. Jones did not believe in tribute-tariff, duties, or by whatever name one chooses to call it, and in this respect he does not stand alone even among the

men of affairs to-day. Nor was he guilty of piracy or buccaneering, for all of his operations in British waters were carried on with the full knowledge and consent of Benjamin Franklin and the Congress in whose service he was employed; besides he carried the American flag, which was displayed whenever occasion or necessity required it. He may have been, and doubtless was, a rebel, but were not Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Deane, Lee, and the signers of the Declaration of Independence so considered? Had there been more such rebels as Jones and his compatriots Ethan Allen, Paul Revere, Nathan Hale, Richard Montgomery, it would not have taken seven years to convince George the Third that Pitt was right when he said: "You cannot conquer America."

The charge that Jones had grossly violated a young girl after he had attained renown in the Russian service, was shown to be the work of a notorious adventuress employed by British subjects living in St. Petersburg for the purpose of bringing him into disfavor with Catherine and court circles of the Russian capital. The charge, though proven false, forever kept him from court favors, and although Catherine held him guiltless, she nevertheless refused him further patronage or favor.

So, all the way through the category of crimes that have been associated with the glorious name of John Paul Jones. Time has proven him one of the mightiest and most unselfish of men who ever drew a sword in defense of the "violated rights of man," and we, in

America, are prone to hold him guiltless, even had the whole world condemned him as a traitor and a rebel, a pirate, a libertine—yea, a murderer.

Few knew him intimately, but those who did were of one opinion—that he was an honorable and eminently just man. His professional talents and personal appearance have been less the topics of abuse than his manners and moral character, though the latter was always a matter of controversy. In manners especially, he has been frequently described in old English books as stiff, conceited and finical, and by the rural press of Great Britain as brutal, quarrelsome and arrogant toward his professional inferiors.

Born of obscure parentage, growing to manhood amid scenes that tend to degrade rather than lift man above the mass of humanity—that of a seafaring man engaged in the abominable slave trade—we may readily believe that Jones entered into social life with much to contend with. He had reached manhood and had earned world-wide and lasting fame before he sought intercourse with polite society. At Lyons, Versailles and Paris he entered freely into the gayeties of court life, and was warmly admitted into royal favors at Copenhagen, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. Could this have been possible had not his personal appearance and manners been above reproach; or would rudeness, brutality and arrogance in a foreigner have been tolerated at court whence examples for subjects to follow emanate?

Many letters from ladies of the French court and others in high social life, not alone in Paris, Lyons and

Versailles, but in London, Copenhagen, New York, Philadelphia and St. Petersburg, and preserved among his personal effects in the possession of his relatives in Dumfries, prove the enviable position he held in the society of ladies, which should seem to be quite conclusive as to the propriety of his manners.

In addition to his well-kept Journal and voluminous correspondence, Jones wrote many very admirable verses, but as these were written hurriedly, without due regard to versification, and when he was in a different mood than when we find him addressing Congress or preparing his Journal for the perusal of the King, we are constrained to say we admire his prose the most and have left the poetic side of his nature for other biographers to dilate upon.

During the two or three years that Jones spent at the home of his elder brother William, near the Rappahannock, he devoted his entire time to the study of navigation and languages; so we should not be surprised at the excellence of his compositions and his aspirations to know more of the manners and customs of the people whose language—French—was the prevailing tongue in court circles. It is said that a minister, in reading the dispatches of Lord Collingwood, who went to sea at twelve years of age, used to ask, "Where has Collingwood got his style? He writes better than any of us." Collingwood, like Jones, was a man of studious habits and seldom lost an opportunity of improving his situation, especially his mental faculties and social nature.

Jones was attentive to his crews, and generous and liberal in all pecuniary transactions of a private na-

ture, though his Journal and correspondence show that he was commendably tenacious of his pecuniary claims on states and public bodies. The most part of his retirement was spent in pressing his prize claims against half the nations of Europe. As to discipline, Jones was rigid and strict in its administration. In person he appears to have been not only very impatient but so devoid of all self-control as to be unfit for any regularly organized service, had there been any, though admirably adapted to the singular crisis which he occasioned by independent action. Hence his desire for "a separate command with unlimited orders." Without these he was not happy, and in his connection with the Russian navy his relations with Prince Potemkin were severely strained, which doubtless was the cause of his dismissal from the service.

Boasting has appeared as an inherent quality in most great naval commanders; Drake, Rodney, Nelson, Farragut were all in one sense arrant braggarts; the unfortunate controversy over the Santiago incident where "there was glory enough for all" adds yet another name to the above list of brave though selfish men of action. A man has every right to bring forward his services when those who should remember appear disposed to forget them, and Paul Jones was no exception, for he never lacked courage to express his own convictions and put himself in the best possible light.

But Jones found his lot all the harder, for he was the first commander, the founder of a navy, and because of its disorganized condition, he could not enforce the obedience of those who commanded under his orders,

as in the case of Landais, who secretly aided, even co-operated with the commander of the Serapis in its memorable battle with the Bon Homme Richard, and who finally incited the crew of the Alliance to mutiny, and finally set sail for America without the permission or knowledge of Jones.

It is a less amiable trait in the character of Paul Jones, said one chronicler, that we find him very frequently quarreling with rival and associate commanders, and never once bestowing hearty, cordial praise on any one of them. His avoidance of fame, like the same vice of a more sordid kind, continues this same writer, not only gave him the insatiable desire of accumulation, but tempted him, if not to defraud, at least to trench on the rights of others; and his hostility, though open, was often far from generous; yet with all this, his squabbles were wholly professional. In private life there appears to have been no reason to fasten on him the odious imputation of being quarrelsome, which some few have attempted. He was fonder, says one writer, not of glory alone, but of its trappings and decorations, than quite became the champion of a republic and the pupil of Benjamin Franklin. He may, however, have considered these symbols as the seals with which fame ratifies her bonds and chose Paris, France, rather than Republican America to be the scene of his declining years.

Everywhere in England we occasionally hear Jones spoken of as a pirate and a traitor; even his moral character in that country has ofttimes been made the subject of abuse and gross misrepresentation. If this

has been done by Englishmen from a mistaken love of their country, they dishonor their country and themselves by a continuance of this illtimed abuse. However, sentiment is changing in England with regard to the character of Jones. The application of the terms pirate and rebel is now used only by those who still bewail the loss of the colonies. An adventurer in search of glory and the fortunes of war, seems to be the present estimate placed upon the character of Paul Jones in most parts of the British Isles, while in America, his name knows no superior in naval marine, and is held second only to that of the father of his country in saving our fair land from British aggression and perpetual dependency.

CHAPTER XVI.

CORRESPONDENCE—WILL.

In the existing uncertainty as to his future after leaving the Russian service, Jones' mind must have been much disturbed. A being so active, having scarcely ever considered retirement from active sea service, must have chafed under enforced idleness. At Paris and Amsterdam he was busily employed in corresponding not only with his immediate acquaintances but with eminent personages in the various countries where service or duty had called him. The following letters have especial interest and are therefore included in this narrative:

The following letter to John Parish, Esq., merchant, of Hamburg, is dated December 29, 1789: My departure from Copenhagen was so sudden, that I omitted writing to you, intending to have done it from St. Petersburg. There I found myself in such a round of feasting and business till the moment of my departure for the Black Sea, that I again postponed it. Had I written you after my arrival at Cherson, I have every reason to think my letters would have been intercepted; but notwithstanding my past silence, I can truly assure you, that I have constantly entertained the most perfect and grateful sense of your friendly and polite behavior to me at Hamburg and Copen-

hagen. I will now thankfully pay to your order the cost of the smoked beef you were so obliging as to send to my friend, Mr. Jefferson, at my request. The kind interest you have taken in my concerns, and the great desire to cultivate your esteem and friendship, are my present inducements for troubling you with the enclosed packet for the Chevalier Bourgoing, (the French resident at Hamburg,) which I send under a flying seal for your perusal, praying you to shut the exterior cover before you deliver it. I shall make no comments on the documents I send for the Baron de la Houze, but let the simple truth speak for herself. I shall show you, when we meet, things that will surprise you, for you can scarcely have an idea how much our operations have been misrepresented.

As I am for the present the master of my time, I shall perhaps make you a visit in the spring, and pay my court to some of your kind, rich, old ladies. To be serious, I must stay in Europe till it is seen what changes the present politics will produce, and till I can hear from America; and if you think I can pass my time quietly, agreeably, and at a small expense at Hamburg, I should prefer it to the fluctuating prospects of other places.

In the letter referred to in the foregoing, inclosing copies of the letters of Count Segur for the perusal of Baron de la Houze, who had shown Jones many attentions at Copenhagen, he complains that his correspondence had miscarried or been intercepted. Of many letters which he had written to Mr. Jefferson, but one had been received, and this by messenger. Mr. Jefferson



MARQUIS OF LAFAYETTE.

had returned to America, and been appointed secretary of state. He had obtained no definitive answer in relation to the claim on Denmark. As a Russian officer, says Jones, I do not pretend to interfere in this matter; but as the subjects of France have an interest in it, you will undoubtedly find it expedient to confer further with the Count de Bernstorf on the subject. The only substantial difficulty which he suggested to me in conversation was, that the new constitution of the United States was not yet in force. But this objection no longer exists.

The Baron in his reply from Copenhagen, on the ninth of February following, said:

It is but a few days since I received, with the letter with which you have honored me of the 29th December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur, which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the Gazette of France, and which I had read. This article has been repeated in many foreign gazettes, has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and valor. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you injustice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general, Themistocles, has said: "I do not envy the situation of the man who is not envied."

He also informed Jones that the situation of the claim was as he had left it, he not having been clothed

with plenary powers. The Danish minister had taken the ground that Paris ought to have been the seat of the negotiations.

To Baron Krudner, who was still the Russian envoy at Copenhagen, Jones wrote on the same occasion, referring to the letters he had enclosed for Baron de la Houze. He said: Notwithstanding the unjust treatment I received in Russia, the warm attachment with which the empress inspired me at the beginning, still remains rooted in my heart. You know, Sir, that her imperial majesty thought my sword an object worthy of her attention, sought it with the most flattering eagerness, and treated me the first time I was at her court with unexampled distinction. That sword has been successfully and frequently drawn on critical occasions, to render the most essential services to her empire, and to cover her flag with fresh laurels. For this I have greatly exposed my reputation, and entirely sacrificed my military pride. Yet I have seen the credit of my services bestowed on others, and I am the only officer who made the campaign of the Liman without being advanced. In a letter I wrote the empress, the 17th of May last, I mentioned that her majesty would soon receive a direct proof from America of the unanimous approbation with which I am honored by the United States. I alluded to the gold medal which I am to receive, and respecting which you have in your hands a copy of the unanimous act of Congress. That medal is now elegantly executed, and is ready for me at Paris. The United States have ordered a copy of my medal to be presented to every

sovereign in Europe, Great Britain excepted. When we meet, I shall produce clear proof of all I have said respecting Russia. The only promise I asked from the empress at the beginning, and, indeed, the only condition I made with her majesty, was, that "she should not condemn me without having heard me." I need make no remark to a man of your clear understanding. You advised me to write to the empress by the post. I wrote several letters while in the department of the Black Sea to my friend Mr. Jefferson, at Paris, containing no detail of our operations, yet they were all intercepted. I have, I think, reason to apprehend that there will be no peace this winter, and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done.

You remember that Count B——— (Bernstorf) showed you a paper which he sent, to be delivered to me by the Danish minister at St. Petersburg. I received that paper without any alteration whatever, either in the '*date*,' or otherwise. If I understand you right, it was intended that '*a year's payment would be made in advance*,' but I have not since heard a word in that respect. I wish to be informed how the payment is intended to be made. It cannot surely be in Danish bank-paper. You will do me a great favor if you can obtain an explicit answer, and it would be much more agreeable if the payment could be made here, instead of being made at any other place. I have not yet mentioned this affair to any person whatever, except yourself. You are no stranger to my sentiments. You know the present happy state of America. That nation will soon create a respecta-

ble marine. It is now a year since I gave a plan to the court of St. Petersburg, for forming a political and commercial connection with the United States. The empress approved this much, and there was question of sending me to America in consequence. But a great man told me, 'que cela enrageroit les Anglais d'avantage contre la Russie, et qu'il falloit auparavant faire la paix avec les Turcs.' Accept my warm congratulations on the well-merited advancement you have received in the order of St. Wolodimer. I hear that your lady is at Paris. I beg you to assure her of my great respect, etc., etc.

The pension would no doubt have been convenient at this time, for Jones had been merely paid by the Russian government, as has been mentioned, at the rate of 1800 roubles per annum, and his expenses had more than exhausted the advances made by that government, while he found it difficult to realize money from private resources. Baron Krudner's reply, on the 6th of February following, is brief, and may, therefore, be as well inserted. "It is with lively sensibility that I have received the mark of remembrance with which your excellency was pleased to honor me, under date of the 29th December; and the hope it holds forth, that I may probably see you in the course of the spring, adds to my satisfaction. I have spoken to CountB—— touching your business. He told me that everything was at your own disposition; that you had only to send a brief receipt, or an order to receive the money, to any person here, and payment would be made; but that it was imposible it should be in other money than

in that of the country. You have w:. ssed, Sir, the efforts I have made in this business, and that everything would have been arranged agreeably to your own desire, if success had corresponded to the warmth of my intentions. They intrench themselves behind the impossibility of making an exception to, and breach of, a rule generally established. Accept my sincere compliments on the flattering mark of esteem and distinction the United States of America have bestowed upon you. They have anticipated history. It is yet doubtful whether we shall have peace this year; in all events I flatter myself, as a good Russian, that your arm is always reserved for us."

Jones went to England, as has been mentioned, to make his arrangements with Dr. Bancroft, and returned to Paris the same spring. He had been expected in that city early in the winter, as appears by a letter to him from Mr. Short, United States consul at the court of France, to whom he had written in relation to the medal, and, as it would seem, to the feasibility of having a series struck, commemorating his victories. It also appears by this letter, that M. Grand, Jones' banker in Paris, had no money belonging to him in his hands at this time; which corroborates the belief that Jones visited England from necessity.

The first letter from Paris, among his papers, is to M. Genet, who remained at the Russian court, after Count Segur had left it. It is dated June 1st. As I arrived here, he says, only a few days ago, from Holland and England, I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing your sister. I hope to have the honor very soon

and will deliver to her my bust, as a mark of my personal regard towards your father and yourself. M. de Simolin does me the honor to forward this letter to you. I have shown him proof that, if I have not sought to avenge myself of the unjust and cruel treatment I met with in Russia, my forbearance has been only the result of my delicate attachment towards the empress. You will oblige me by inquiring at the cabinet, and demanding the appointments due to me for the current year, which will end the 1st of July, agreeably to the promise of the empress, communicated to me by the Counts de Bruce and Besborodko. I wish to have that money immediately transmitted to me.

On the 24th of July, in this year 1790, Jones thought proper to address a letter to Potemkin. The admirers of his courage and independence of character, will regret that he should have done so, unless business or etiquette required it. But it must be recollected, that this was the only useful avenue through which he could approach the throne of the Czarina; that he was wearied with his inert and unpleasant position, and that his habit of persevering, by letter writing, to enforce the accomplishment of his objects, from those in power, by dint of importunity, was constitutional and inveterate.

Paris, 24th July, 1790.

My Lord:—I do not think it becomes me to let pass the occasion of the return of your aid-de-camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honor to serve under your orders, and to express to you, in all the sincerity of my heart, the

regret I feel in not being fortunate enough to contribute thereto. After the campaign of the Liman, when I had leave, according to the special desire of her imrial majesty, to return to the department of the northern seas, your highness did me the favor to grant me a letter of recommendation to the empress, and to speak to me these words: "Rely upon my attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future." Do you recollect them? This disclosure was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances and the high rank of my enemies have deprived me of the benefits which I had dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me, and which I had endeavored to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed; but if, as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages, which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. de Simolin can testify to you, that my attachment to Russia, and to the great princess who is its sovereign, has always been constant and durable; I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong, and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse: 1st, That I did not request of you a carte-blanche, and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman. 2d, To have written to your highness under feelings highly excited, on the 25th October, (N. S.) 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wished to impute others to me, I swear

before God that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my lord, to unmask the villiany of my enemies, by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of the Liman, with the proofs, clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed, under your orders, all the useful operations against captain Pacha; that it was I who beat him on the 7th of June; that it was I and the brave men I commanded who conquered him on the 17th June, and who chased into the sands two of his largest galleys, before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot, and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in rear of my squadron; that it was I who gave to General Suvorroff (he had the nobleness to declare it at court before me, and to the most respectable witnesses) the first project to establish the battery and breastworks on the isthmus of Kinbourn, and which were of such great utility on the night of the 17th—18th of June; that it was I, in person, who towed, with my sloops and other vessels, the batteries which were nearest to the place, the 1st July, and who took the Turkish galleys by boarding, very much in advance of our line, whilst some gentlemen, who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the struggles of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression, sheltered from danger. You have seen, yourself, my lord, that I never valued my person on any occasion where I had the good fortune to act under your eye. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity, and grants me some mili-

tary talents, which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia, under your orders.

The time will arrive, my lord, when you will know the the exact truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master. It will teach you to appreciate the man, who, loaded with your benefits, departed from the court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Oczakow, which he learned on his arrival in White Russia, gave the lie to all the horrors which had been brought forward to enrage the empress against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the court of Vienna. In fine, time will teach you, my lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler, but a man true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which you promised me. I rely on it, because I feel myself worthy of it. I reclaim your promise, because you are just, and I know you are a lover of truth. I commanded, and was the only responsible person in the campaign of the Liman, the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers; and I am, however, the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded. I am extremely thankful for the order of St. Anne which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks, *for my conduct in the affair of the 7th of June*, which was not decisive. The 17th of June I gained over captain Pacha a complete victory which saved Cherson and Kinbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war in their precipitate flight on the following night,

under the cannon of the battery and breastwork which I had caused to be erected in the isthmus of Kinbourn. On this occasion I had the honor again to receive a *letter of thanks;* but my enemies and rivals have found means to abuse your confidence, since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes, with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

I have been informed that, according to the institution of the order of St. George, I have the right to claim its decorations in the second class for the victory of the 17th of June, but I rely upon your justice and generosity. I regret that a secret project, which I addressed to the Count de Besborodko the 6th of June of the last year, has not been adopted. I communicated this project to the Baron de Beichler, who has promised me to speak to you of it. I was detained in St. Petersburg until the end of August, in order to hinder me, as I have heard, from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your head-quarters, in the hope to be of some utility; and the Baron de Beichler, in departing from St. Petersburg in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department, and that I should hold myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not since changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard eighteen months of this parole, in a time of war, more as a punishment

than as a favor. I hope that your highness will succeed in concluding peace this year with the Turks; but, in a contrary case, if it should please you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer concerning whom I spoke to you, with one or two others, who are good tacticians, and who have some knowledge of war. On my return here I received a gold medal, granted me by the *unanimous* voice of Congress, at the moment I received a parole from this honorable body. The United States have decreed me this honor, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America eight years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns and all the academies of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe that your highness will be numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with the Turks; but in any case, if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you as a mark of my attachment for your person, it will do me an honor to offer it to you.

Indisposition gaining upon Jones' health daily to which he refers in several of his letters. This probably interrupted his active correspondence during this year and the record of his engagements, occupations, and thoughts, are few. The following, written on hearing of a family dissension, is the only other letter of interest found among his papers written in 1790:

Paris, December 27, 1790.

I duly received, my dear Mrs. Taylor, your letter of

the 16th August, but ever since that time I have been unable to answer it, not having been capable to go out of my chamber, and having been for the most part obliged to keep my bed. I have now no doubt but that I am in a fair way of a perfect recovery, though it will require time and patience.

I shall not conceal from you that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that *mutual tenderness and affection* which would do so much honor to themselves and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your serious *study* and *application* Pope's Universal Prayer. You will find more morality in that little piece, than in many volumes that have been written by great divines—

'Teach me to *feel* another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy show to me!'

This is not the language of a weak superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offspring of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by *charity*, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and *frailties* of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbor in general, how much more is this our duty with respect to individuals with whom

we are connected by the *near* and *tender* ties of nature, as well as moral obligation. Every lesser virtue may pass away, but *charity* comes from Heaven, and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family peace, which I flatter myself would tend to promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances, nor show by *word*, *look* or *action*, that you have not forgot them.

The following correspondence with two ladies whom he numbered among his friends, took place at this time, and diversifies the character of the remaining materials for his biography.

To Mesdames Le Grande and Rinsby, a Trevoux, pres de Lion.

Paris, February 25, 1791.

Dear and amiable ladies—Madame Clement has read me part of a letter from you, in which you conclude that I prefer love to friendship, and Paris to Trevoux. As to the first part you may be right, for love frequently communicates divine qualities, and in that light may be considered as the cordial that Providence has bestowed on mortals, to help them to digest the nauseous draught of life. Friendship, they say,

has more solid qualities than love. This is a question I shall not attempt to resolve; but sad experience generally shows, that where we expect to find a friend, we have only been treacherously deluded by false appearances, and that the goddess herself very seldom confers her charms on any of the human race. As to the second, I am too much a philosopher to prefer noise to tranquillity; if this does not determine the preference between Paris and Trevoux, I will add, that I have had very bad health almost ever since your departure, and that other circumstances have conspired to detain me here, which have nothing to do with either love or friendship. My health is now recovering, and as what is retarded is not always lost, I hope soon to have the happiness of paying you my personal homage, and of renewing the assurance of that undiminished attachment which women of such distinguished worth and talents naturally inspire. I am, etc.

The answer of the first lady mentioned in the direction of this letter, follows.

Trevoux, 6th March, 1791.

Sir—I had given up the hope of receiving any intelligence of your excellency, and I acknowledge it cost me much before I could believe that the promise of a great man was no more to be relied on than that of the herd of mankind. The letter with which you have honored me convinces me that my heart knew you better than my head; for though my reason whispered that you had quite forgotten us, I was unwilling to believe it.

Madame Wolfe, as well as myself, is much concerned for the bad state of your health. I am sorry that, like myself, your excellency is taught the value of health by sickness. Come to us, Sir; if you do not find here the pleasures you enjoy in Paris, you will find a good air, frugal meals. freedom, and hearts that can appreciate you.

I am concerned to perceive that your excellency is an unbeliever in friendship. Alas, if you want friends, who shall pretend to possess them! I hope you will recover from this error, and be convinced that friendship is something more than a chimera of Plato.

Do me the favor to acquaint me with the time we may expect the honor of seeing you. I must be absent for some days, and I would not for any thing in the world that I should not be here on your arrival. If I knew the time, I would send my little carriage to meet the stage-coach, as I suppose you will take that conveyance.

Madame Wolfe expects the moment of your arrival with as much eagerness as myself (she says); but as I best know my own feelings, I am certain I go beyond her. Of this I am certain, that we shall both count the days till we have the happiness of seeing you. Come quickly then, I pray you.

To several letters written by him at the close of February, in which he seems to have had a respite from the immediate effects of his malady, it is merely necessary to allude. The United States having named

a vice-consul for the port of Marseilles, and the appointment of other functionaries for commercial purposes in different European ports being expected, he offered to his banker in Paris (M. Grand), his good offices with the United States' secretary of legation, Mr. Short, to procure him such a situation, which he had seemed desirous of obtaining; and to the latter gentleman he wrote, recommending M. Neissen, a merchant of Amsterdam, and friend of his, to be nominated as consul for that port. He also recommended the appointment of a commercial agent at Elsineur. He says in the conclusion of this letter: I called the other day on M. Dupres, who informed me that Mr. Jefferson had taken from him the dies of my medal, after three examples only had been struck. Pray are the dies in your possession, or are they carried to America? Accept my compliments on your success, and on the credit of your country. But I am still of opinion that a loan may be made, at less than 5 per cent.

Jones enclosed his vindicatory papers, in relation to the Russian campaign, to the Hon. William Carmichael, who was still in a diplomatic capacity at Madrid He says: You will judge how unfortunate I was, in having to do with the greatest knight of industry under the sun: an enemy the more dangerous, as his ignorance, which has since appeared in such glaring colors to all Europe, had put me off my guard. Soon after I left Russia, I sent to the empress my journal of the important campaign I commanded on the Liman, and before Oczakow; but it contained such



JONES HOISTING THE RUSSIAN FLAG ON BOARD THE WOLODIMER, MAY 26, 1788.

damning proofs against my enemies, that it has undoubtedly been intercepted. As a sure occasion offers, I shall write again next month; and my letter will contain my resignation, in case I receive no immediate satisfaction. In a postscript he asks: Pray can you inform me whether anything efficacious is in agitation, for the relief of our unhappy countrymen at Algiers? Nothing provokes me so much as the shameful neglect they have so long experienced.

On the 20th of March following, he addressed Mr. Jefferson at great length, and as the letter has been several times published, and is not essentially necessary to the exposition of his feelings and circumstances, extracts from it will suffice. He informed the secretary of state, that he had received no answers to his letters addressed to the high public officers in America, more than a year previous, congratulated him on the acceptance of the high station which he filled and took occasion to make a remark, suggested by the contrast between the lavish amount of European appointments, which he immediately had under his eye, and those dictated by the spirit of republican economy which have, even up to this time, been found sufficient to make a post in the American cabinet an object of patriotic ambition. He said: It gives me pain that so inadequate a provision has been made, for doing the honors incumbent on the first minister of a nation of such resources as America, and I wish that matter may be soon changed to your satisfaction. Mr. Jefferson argued in favor of no increase of salary.

Jones mentions the documents in his vindication, which he transmitted with his despatch, and intimated his presentiment that he should be constrained to withdraw from the Russian service, and publish his journal of the campaign. Referring to the scandal which was made available to drive him from St. Petersburg, he says: Chevalier Littlepage, now here on his way from Spain to the north, has promised me a letter to you on my subject, which I presume will show the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practiced for my persecution at St. Petersburg. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business before he came here, and related to me the information he received from a gentleman of high rank in the diplomatic department, with whom he travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided as a public character at St. Petersburg, and was there all the time of the pitiful plot against me, which was conducted by a little-great man behind the curtain. The unequaled reception with which I had, at first, been honored by the empress, had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St. Petersburg, and the courtier just mentioned (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war), wishing to sooth the court of London into a pacific humor, found no firststep so expedient as that of sacrificing me! But instead of producing the effect he wished, this base conduct, on which he pretended to ground a conciliatien, rather widened the political breach, and made him to be despised by the

English minister, by the English cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to the Chevalier Littlepage. The reader must exercise his own sagacity in conjecturing who this little-great man and courtier was. It is but just to remark, however, that this statement seems to exculpate any *English* agent from a direct action in the propagation of the infamous slander. Jones next informed Mr. Jefferson of the circumstances under which the patent was given, granting him during life a pension of fifteen hundred crowns from the treasury of Denmark. This patent was dated on the fourth day of December, 1788, the same day on which Count Bernstorf wrote the letter to Jones, which effectually terminated the progress of his negotiations at that time. In Jones' letter to Mr. Jefferson immediately after, he makes no mention of the particular circumstances and manner in which the propitiatory oblation was made, though he refers to his interview with the prince. In the letter he says:

The day before I left the court of Copenhagen, the prince royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His royal highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, remarked, he hoped I was satisfied with the attentions that had been shown to me since my arrival, and that the king would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. 'I have never had the happiness to render any service to his majesty.' 'That is nothing; a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shown yourself more delicate as regards our flag, and every person here loves you.'

I took leave without farther explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation on account of the king's patent, and I have as yet made no use of it, though three years have nearly elapsed since I received it. I wished to consult you; but when I understood that you would not return to Europe, I consulted Mr. Short and Mr. G. Morris, who both gave me their opinion, that I may with propriety accept the advantage offered. I have in consequence determined to draw for the sum due, and I think you will not disapprove of this step, as it can by no means weaken the claim of the United States, but rather the contrary.

He informed Mr. Jefferson also, that he had not yet been presented at court, but would be shortly by the Marquis de la Fayette; he spoke of transmitting one of his busts for the state of North Carolina, which had been requested by a member of Congress, and which was to be decorated with the order of St. Anne, in the American uniform, if he should be authorized by the United States to wear that order, which authorization he solicited Mr. Jefferson to obtain for him. Referring to the condition of the American prisoners at Algiers, with whose situation, he said, I continue to be deeply affected; the more so, as I learn from the pirate now here, who took the greatest part of them, that if they are not very soon redeemed, they will be treated with no more lenity than is shown to other slaves. He told this to Mr. Littlepage, who repeated it to me.

The letter from Mr. Littlepage, which accompanied that cited from, and which is referred to in it, was as follows;

You will share my regret in reflecting, that we were the principal means of engaging Admiral Sir John Paul Jones to accept the propositions made to him in 1788 by the Russian court. Never were more brilliant prospects held forth to an individual, and never individual better calculated to attain them. The campaign upon the Liman of 1788, added lustre to the arms of Russia, and ought to have esta'lished for ever the reputation and fortune of the gallant officer to whose conduct those successes were owing; but unfortunately, in Russia, more perhaps than elsewhere, everything is governed by intrigue. Some political motives, *I have reason to think*, concurred in depriving Admiral Paul Jones of the fruits of his services; he was thought to be particularly obnoxious to the English nation, and the idea of paying a servile compliment to a power whose enmity occasions all the present embarrassments of Russia, induced some leading persons to ruin him in the opinion of the empress by an accusation too ridiculous to be mentioned.

It would be needless to enter into details; you nave too much confidence in Admiral Paul Jones to doubt the veracity of what he will personally communicate to you, and to which I refer you.

In June of this year, as appears by the draft of a letter which is preserved, though without particular date or direction, Paul Jones in addition to his ill state of body, and to the irritating state of inaction into which he was thrown, was really vexed by the delay he experienced in receiving the funds belonging

to his private exchequer, and which he had a right to look for.

The last letter preserved, in which he indicates a wish to cling to his Russian engagements, is one to the Baron de Grimm, who was then at Bourbon le Bair, and which is dated July 9th. It was as follows:

Sir—M. Houdon has sent to your house the bust which you have done me the honor to accept. Mademoiselle Marchais has informed me of all the obliging things you have said regarding my affairs. She has just told me, that the answer of the empress awaits you at Frankfort. As it is my duty to interest myself in objects that may be useful to Russia, I must inform you that I have met with a man here, whom I have known for fifteen years, who has invented a new construction of ships of war, which has small resemblance, either externally or internally, to our present war-ships, and which will, he says, possess the following advantages over them:

I. The crew will be better sheltered during an engagement.

II. The accommodations of the crew will be more spacious; every individual may have a bed or a hammock, and there may be as much air as is wished for, night and day, in the places for sleeping.

III. There will be less smoke during an engagement.

IV. A ship of the new construction, of 54 guns, if well armed and commanded, may face one of the old make of 80 or 90, and need not run away from one of an hundred.

V. That besides requiring less artillery, the new vessels would cost less in their construction; and different sorts of wood, both dear and rare, required for the old vessels, might be dispensed with.

VI. A new ship, displaying to the eye all the majesty of her appointments, would have a more imposing appearance of power than another; and would never be forced into an engagement, without stupid imprudence on the part of her commander.

VII. Vessels of the new construction, would add to many other advantages, that of greater facility in navigation, by sailing a quarter, or 11 degrees and 15 minutes, nearer the wind than the old ones, and swerving less from the course.

It is a long time since, in conjunction with my friend Dr. Franklin, I tried to devise the construction of a ship which could be navigated without ballast, be ready for action at any time, draw less water, and at the same time drive little or not at all to leeward. We always encountered great obstacles. Since the death of that great philosopher, having too much time on my hands, I think I have surmounted the difficulties which baffled our researches. The ship-builder of whom I have spoken, has explained nothing to me in detail, and is altogether ignorant of my ideas on the subject. Being old, he wishes to preserve his invention, and to derive an annuity from it. Nothing can be more just, if on experiment his discovery holds; and as it is a thing which appears to me to deserve the attention of the empress, I beg of you to acquaint her majesty of it as soon as possible. This person wished

to go to England to offer his discovery, where I think it would have been received; but, as I have some influence with him, I have persuaded him to remain here, and wait your reply. If he receive any encouragement, he will communicate his ideas more fully to me. But in every case I would dedicate to the empress, without any stipulation, all that my feeble genius has accomplished in naval architecture. I believe I have found out the secret of mounting on a ship of war, with the qualifications I have mentioned above, five batteries of whatever calibre is desired. Will not this, presuming it is correct, be of great advantage to the infant marine of the Black Sea, and consequently to the prosperity of the Russian empire?

There is among the loose papers preserved, a letter dated the 16th September, 1791, from a chevalier whose patronymic baffles curiosity, as his hand-writing was fine beyond conception. He informs the rear admiral, that in a conversation he had had with Admiral Digby on the day previous, that officer had expressed an anxious desire to become acquainted with him, and presses Jones to allow him to introduce him, at as early a day as possible, to the admiral's amiable family. This is mentioned as not unimportant in proving, that brave and intelligent Englishmen were not imbued with the vulgar prejudices which seem to have prevailed in their country in relation to this adopted son of America. Indeed, there are several others which refute such a supposition, that have not been mentioned; among which are two from the Earl of Wemys,

written in 1785, dated at his residence, the "Chateau de Cotandar," near Neufchatel, which refer to communications the earl had had with the Prince of Wirtemburgh, on subjects in which Jones was interested. He addresses him as "my dear commodore," and Jones in his replies calls him "my dear lord Wemys." These letters, with several others, have been omitted, because they needed explanations which cannot be furnished.

In November, Jones wrote Littlepage, who was then at Warsaw, congratulating himself on the (abortive) revolution in Poland, and transmitting a pamphlet published by a friend of his, whose schemes he had mentioned to Baron Grimm, which Jones wished to present to his Polish majesty. He mentions that Bancroft had paid him half the amount for which he was a creditor, and adds: "Before the month of May, I expect also to receive a considerable amount from other sources in Europe; and, in America I have sundry tracts of land, and funds both in the bank, and in the public stocks; so that, if I return to that country, I shall have the means of living independent, in a handsome style. I mention the above circumstances on account of the kind interest you take in all my concerns."

The last letter written this year, which will be inserted, was addressed to the Marquis de la Fayette, and dated December 7th, 1791. It shows that in the approach of the impending storm, the great revolution in France, his feelings toward the king were still benevolent:

DEAR GENERAL—My ill health for some time past, has prevented me from the pleasure of paying you my personal respects, but I hope shortly to indulge myself with that satisfaction.

I hope you approve the quality of the fur-linings I brought from Russia for the king and yourself. I flatter myself that his majesty will accept from your hand that little mark of the sincere attachment I feel for his person, and be assured, that I shall be always ready to draw the sword with which he honored me for the service of the virtuous and illustrious 'PROTECTOR OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.

When my health shall be re-established, M. Simolin will do me the honor to present me to his majesty as a Russian admiral. Afterwards it will be my duty, as an American officer, to wait on his majesty with the letter which I am directed to present to him from the United States.

It is to be presumed that sickness prevented Jones from taking any active part in the discussions and movements which were fast hurrying France into her long agony. From this time the symptoms of Jones grew alarming. He was seized with jaundice, which developed into accute dropsy and he died on the 18th of July as has been previously noticed. The following letters of M. Beaupoil and Colonel Blackden to the sisters of Paul Jones, furnish the best account of his last moments and the manner of his death:

Letter of M. Beaupoil to either Mrs. Taylor or Mrs. Loudon, sisters of Paul Jones, Esq. Admiral in the Russian service.

MADAM—I am sorry to acquaint you that your brother, Admiral Paul Jones, my friend, paid yesterday the debt we all owe to nature. He has made a will, which is deposited in the hands of Mr. Badineir, notary, St. Servin street, Paris. The will was drawn in English, by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, minister of the UNITED STATES, and translated faithfully by the French notary aforesaid. The admiral leaves his property, real and personal, to his two sisters and their children. They are named in the will as being married, one to William Taylor, and the other to———Loudon, of Dumfries. The executor is Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia. If I could be of any service to you in this business, out of the friendship I bore your brother, I would do it with pleasure. I am a Frenchman and an officer. I am sincerely yours,

"BEAUPOIL.

"Paris, July 19, 1792, No. 7, Hotel Anglais, Passage des Petits Peres."

The English will is signed by Colonels Swan, Blackden, and myself. The schedule of his property lying in Denmark, Russia, France, America, and elsewhere, is signed by Mr. Morris, and deposited by me in his bureau, with the original will. Every thing is sealed up at his lodgings, Tournon street, No. 42, Paris.

You may depend also on the good services of Colonel Blackden, who was an intimate friend of the

admiral's. That gentleman is setting out for London, where you may hear of him at No. 18 Great Tichfield Street, London.

Colonel Blackden to Mrs. Taylor, of Dumfries, eldest sister of Admiral Paul Jones.

"Great Tichfield Street, London, August 9th.

MADAM—I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 3d instant, and shall answer you most readily. Your brother, Admiral Jones, was not in good health for about a year, but had not been so unwell as to keep house. For two months past he began to lose his appetite, to grow yellow, and show signs of the jaundice; for this he took medicine, and seeemed to grow better; but about ten days before his death his legs began to swell, which increased upwards, so that two days before his exit he could not button his waistcoat, and had great difficulty of breathing.

I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs; but this he put off till the afternoon of his death, when he was prevailed on to send for a *notaire*, and made his will. Mr. Beaupoil and myself witnessed it at about 8 o'clock in the evening, and left him sitting in a chair. A few minutes after we retired, he walked into his chamber, and laid himself upon his face, on the bed-side, with his feet on the floor; after the queen's physician arrived, they went into the room, and found him in that position, and upon taking him up, they found he had expired.

His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the breast. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that

in case the United States, whom he had so essentially served, and with so much honor to himself, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed. This is all, Madam, that I can say concerning his illness and death.

I most sincerely condole with you, Madam, upon the loss of my dear and respectable friend, for whom I entertained the greatest affection, and as a proof of it, you may command the utmost exertion of my feeble abilities, which shall be rendered with cheerfulness. I have the honor to be, Madam, your most obedient and humble servant,

S. Blackden.

It will be seen from these letters, that though suffering severely from bodily affliction, and no doubt equally from mental restlessness and disquietude, Jones did not die without the sympathy and succor of friends, nor in obscurity and actual want, as has been surmised, and indeed stated, in some notices of his life. The credentials of his excellency Gouverneur Morris, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France, had been forwarded to him from America in the latter end of January preceding, at which time, it is to be inferred from a letter of Mr. Jefferson to him, he was not in Paris. Jones, therefore, could not have had a long acquaintance with him,but it is known,that though he was not present at the rear admiral's funeral, the ambassador showed him every attention, and it appears from his attest to a schedule, that he was with him on the day before his death.

He was buried at Paris on the 20th July, and the following funeral discourse was pronounced over his grave by Mr. Marron, a protestant clergyman of Paris:

[TRANSLATION.]

Discourse pronounced by Mr. Marron, officiating Protestant Clergyman, at the funeral of Admiral Paul Jones, July 20, 1792, *in Paris.*

Legislators! citizens! soldiers! friends! brethren! and Frenchmen! we have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free to the eclat of titles and of honors, which, from a *usurped throne,* were lavished upon him by Catharine. The fame of the brave outlives him; his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the names of Paul Jones, than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free? It is the vow, it is the watch-word of every Frenchman.

Let never tyrants, nor their satellites pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose! Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression. Friends and brethren, a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious; *the country is in*

danger. Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of their blood to save it? Associate yourselves to the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating him in his contempt of dangers, in his devotedness to his country, in his noble heroism, which, after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future generations!

(*Translated from the French.*)

"Testament of John Paul Jones,
18th July, 1792.

"Before tne undersigned notaries, at Paris, appeared Mr. John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at present in Paris, lodged in the street of Tournon, Number 42, at the house of Mr. Dorberque, *huissier audiancier* of the tribunal of the third *arrondissement*, found in a parlor in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows, opening on the said street of Tournon, sitting in an arm chair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation,—

"Who, in view of death, has made, dictated and worded to the undersigned notaries his testament as follows:

"'I give and bequeath all the goods as well as moveable and heritable and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country they may be situated, to my sister, Janet, spouse to

William Taylor and Mary, wife of Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals, and to be enjoyed by them in the following manner:

"'My sisters and those of their children who, on the day of my death, shall have reached the age of twenty-one will enjoy their share in full property from the date of my decease. As for those of my nephews and nieces, who at that period of the time may not reach the age of twenty-one years, their mothers will enjoy their shares till such time as they attain that said age, with charge to them to provide for their food, maintenance and education; and as soon as any of my nephews or nieces will have reached the age of twenty-one years, the same will enjoy his share in full property.

"'If one or more of my nephews or nieces should die without children before having reached the age of twenty-one, the share of those of them who may have deceased shall be divided betwixt my said sisters and my other nephews and nieces by equal portions.

"'I name the Honorable Robert Morris, Esquire, of Philadelphia, my only testamentary executor.

"'I revoke all other testaments or codicils which I may have made before the present, which alone I stand by as containing my last will.'

"So made, dictated and worded, by said testator, to the said notaries undersigned and afterwards read and read over again to him by one of them, the other being present, which he well understood, and per-

severed in, at Paris, the year 1792, the 18th July, about five o'clock afternoon, in the room heretofore described, and the said testator signed the original of the present, unregistered at Paris the 25th September, 1792, by Defrance, who received one livre, provisionally, save to determine definitely the right after the declaration of the revenue of the testator. The original remained with M. Pottier, one of the notaries at Paris, undersigned, who delivered these presents this day, 26th September, 1792, the first of the French Republic.

"Pottier.

"(Signed)
"L' Avernier."

The following is a schedule of the property, including cash and securities as well as sundry accounts due Jones from various individuals, land companies, banks and states—all included in the foregoing will. Few of these securities proved profitable investments, so that Jones's heirs derived very little from what was at first thought a munificent bequest, for it was believed Jones possessed a comfortable fortune.

"*Schedule of the Property of Admiral John Paul Jones, as stated by him to me this* 18*th of July*, 1792.

"1st. Bank stock in the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, $6,000, with sundry dividends.

"2nd. Loan-Office certificate left with my friend John Ross of Philadelphia for $2,000 at par, with great arrearages of interest, being for ten or twelve years.

"3rd. Such balance as may be in the hands of my said friend, John Ross, belonging to me, and sundry effects left in his care.

"4th. My lands in the State of Vermont, America.

"5th. My shares in the Ohio Company.

"6th. My shares in the Indiana Company.

"7th. About 1800£ sterling ($9,000) due me from Edward Bancroft, unless paid by him to Sir Robert Herries and is then in his hands.

"8th. Upwards of four years of my pension due from Denmark, to be asked for from the Count de Bernstorf.

"9th. Arrearages from pay from the Empress of Russia, Catherine II., and all my prize money. Amount unknown to me.

"10th. The balance due me by the United States of America, and sundry claims in Europe, which will appear from my papers.

"This is taken from his mouth.

"Signed Govr. Morris,
"Ambassador for the United States to the
Court of France."

John Ross to whom Jones had loaned $2,000 was a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia. He was a native of Perth, Scotland, but emigrated to America in 1763, where he became a shipping merchant. During the Revolution he espoused the cause of the Colonies and advanced the Government $100,000 which he was unable to collect, much to his embarrassment and subsequent failure. The money loaned him by Jones,

however, was paid to the latter's heirs by Ross' heirs who were ultimately reimbursed by the Congress. John Ross is said to have been a second cousin of Betsy Ross, who, under the direction of General Washington, designed our present flag—the stars and stripes. The first perfect flag made by Betsy Ross was given to General Washington, while the second was sent to John Paul Jones, which the latter received and hoisted while in command of the *Ranger*, then lying in the harbor of Nantes, France.

In vindication of the critical opinions of Baron Grimm, who praised the "grace and softness" of the verses of John Paul Jones, we conclude with what is considered a tolerably fair specimen of his poetic vein. It is no disparagement of our own great hero to say, that the verses of John Paul Jones are far superior to those of Nelson. Indeed, of all such effusion the opinion of Byron ought to be accepted as quite cononical—they are so good, that—"bad were better." The only use of the verses of Paul Jones is the evidence they afford that their author could not have been the brutal, ignorant and ferocious libertine and pirate he is frequently described. The few lines found on page 6 of this work were "Verses addressed to the ladies who have done me the honor of their polite attention," and were presented by John Paul Jones to Mademoiselle G.—— who was thought to be one of the daughters of M. Genet.

The following gallant effusion was despatched from Corogne, Spain, where Jones had put in for a short time after escaping from Amsterdam on his way to

Groix. The lady to whom the lines were addressed was the daughter of M. Dumas, the French and American representative at Amsterdam.

"Verses written on Board the Alliance off Ushant, the 1st day of January 1780, immediately after escaping out of the Texel from the Blockade of the British Fleet, being in answer to a piece written and sent to the Texel by a young Lady at the Hague!

TO MISS DUMAS.

I.

"Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, the 'king of sea,'
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along,
The Nereids all about thy side should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state,
'Vivat, vivat' the happy virgin muse!
Of Liberty the friend, whom tyrant power pursues!

II.

"Or, happier lot! were fair Columbia free
From British tyranny, and youth still mine
I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks, and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart;
Together then we'd tune the silver lyre,
As Love or sacred Freedom should our lays inspire.

III.

"But since, alas! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For Freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheathed sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid, the Muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although convey'd through this poor shift,
My new-year's thoughts are grateful for thy virgin gift."

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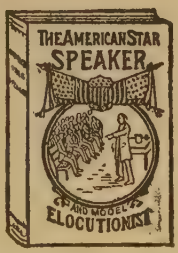


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